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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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21 August 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMUNISTS' PEACE EFFORTS RECALLED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 7, Jul 85 (signed to press 12 Jun 85)
pp 640-646

[Article by Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, SED Central Committee member, deputy director of the SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism: "Struggling Against Fascism and War: On the 50th Anniversary of the Seventh Comintern World Congress"]

[Text] In the 1930's the peoples were faced with a great challenge by the advance of fascism. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany in 1933, the thrusts of fascist and other reactionary forces in other capitalist countries connected therewith were directed above all against the first socialist country, against the international labor movement and against the peoples fighting for their national liberation. At the same time they threatened all of mankind with war, enslavement and fascist barbarism. How to avert this danger created by the most reactionary forces of the declining capitalist exploiter system, how to secure peace and social progress, these life-and-death questions were on the minds of many millions of people everywhere on earth.

True to their responsibility to the peoples, the Communist parties united in the Comintern placed the answer to these questions in the center of their Seventh World Congress which met 50 years ago. A total of 513 delegates--who represented 65 communist parties and organizations with more than 3 million members--de-liberated in Moscow from 25 July to 20 August 1935 how to defeat fascism, ward off the threatening danger of war and how to continue to pave the way for social progress. The Comintern, created at V.I. Lenin's initiative in 1919 and matured on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism, had gathered rich fighting experience. Based on that and as a result of a comprehensive, profound, critical and self-critical discussion on strategy and tactics of the communist movement under the new conditions, this world congress was able to show a constructive path acceptable also to other political forces for the common struggle against the dangers threatening mankind.

All communist parties represented there had a share in the results of the congress looking far into the future--Lenin's party made an outstanding contribution. Important personalities of the communist movement such as Georgi Dimitrov, D.S. Manuilski, Wilhelm Pieck, and Palmiro Togliatti--they delivered the main lectures of the congress--Klement Gottwald, Maurice Thorez and Wang Ming represent the

great collective achievement which this world forum of the communists made half a century ago and constitute its permanent place in history. The delegates of the Communist Party of Germany actively participated in it, including many who came directly from the illegal antifascist struggle in Germany.

Course and results of the congress were decisively shaped by the victory of the socialist production conditions in the USSR. The congress confirmed the delegates in the certainty that socialism is invincible despite the dangerous thrusts of fascism and other reactionary forces, that the future belongs to it. In a resolution it was stated: "With the victory of socialism, the Soviet Union has become a powerful state-political, economic and cultural force influencing world policies and the center of attraction and focus of all peoples, countries and even states which are interested in maintaining international peace. It has become the bulwark of the working people of all countries against the danger of war, the mighty instrument of the alliance of the working people of the entire world against world reaction."¹

Moreover, not only the dangers to progress and peace had grown enormously worldwide; rather forces fighting against these dangers started to form at the same time in the capitalist countries far beyond the ranks of the communist movement. In answer to the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany the readiness for joint defense against fascism had grown, although very unevenly, in the working class of numerous countries, especially also in the social democratic and labor union movement as well as in other working classes and strata. The congress drew conclusions from the different experiences gained by the communist parties and the proletariat as a whole in the struggles against fascism and reaction in Germany, Austria and Spain. Strong impetus was derived especially from the victory of the communists and socialists acting in a united front in France over the fascist forces in 1934 as well as--as a consequence--from the formation of a broad antifascist popular front in that country.

The congress creatively advanced the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of the communist movement. It was oriented on increased turning to the masses by the communist parties, on the practical achievement of the proletarian united front and on a broad popular front in the struggle against fascism and war. The paths for joint action of the communist and social democratic parties were established regardless of all differences in principle existing between them. As decisive the congress stressed placing in the center of attention in the struggle against the common enemy demands which are acceptable to all. Therefore the congress designated as the principal content of the united and popular-front policy implementation of the direct economic and political interests of the working people, conquest, defense and expansion of the democratic rights of the people in the struggle against fascism and reaction. In many respects, this was a new approach of the communists in accordance with the existing conditions with the aim of overcoming the splitting of the working class and all working people caused, and/or taken advantage of, by imperialism and to achieve their united action. In this instance, too, the communists were guided by the principle determining their entire action to do everything for the defense and implementation of the interests and rights of the working people.

Looking to the future, the congress considered a situation feasible in some countries in which the broad masses are prepared to overthrow the power of fascism

and reaction without being as yet prepared for the struggle for socialism. Therefore the congress oriented on possibilities of forming governments of the proletarian united front or of the antifascist popular front. Keeping the socialist ultimate goal in mind, the congress encouraged the communists to continue, in the spirit of Lenin, investigating theoretically and practically the multiplicity of forms of the transition to socialism which was conceivable under the new historical conditions and according to the respective national peculiarities.

Vanguard in the Struggle for Peace

One of the fundamental questions which was a central theme of the Seventh World Congress and occupied a central position in the lectures and its resolutions was the struggle for peace. The Comintern, which came into being in consistent struggle against the imperialist World War I and its consequences proved once again to be the vanguard of the struggle against a threatening imperialist predatory war, for peace. In application of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the communists asserted the principle that the struggle for lasting peace is included in the striving for the achievement of the historical mission of the working class.

The congress provided a clear answer to the question concerning the concrete causes of the serious danger to peace which had developed at that time. Without leaving any doubt concerning the sources of predatory wars inherent in the imperialist system as a whole, it is the everlasting historical merit of this world forum of the communists that it exposed the role of fascist German imperialism as the monster of the most extreme, most aggressive and most chauvinist circles of monopoly capitalism, as most dangerous enemy of peace and as principal warmonger. Georgi Dimitrov stated: "German fascism plays the role of the shock troops of international counterrevolution, as the principal instigator of imperialist war, of the initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union, the great fatherland of the working people of the whole world."²

The course of fascist German imperialism aimed at the conquest of world supremacy, at the destruction of the Soviet country, of all democratic and humanist endeavors of the peoples and the course's class causes were exposed under many aspects, in particular also by the KPD delegates. Thus action was taken according to Lenin's demand to reveal early on the secret of the origin of predatory wars to the peoples. The brutal terror of fascism against the German working class and all antifascists, its hectically stepped-up arming, its striving for formation of reactionary blocs with other states were characterized as concrete steps along the road to war. The wild chauvinism of the fascists, the claim of the fascist Reich to act as spokesman "of all Germans living in Europe," its undisguised demands for revenge and for change of the borders existing in Europe were denounced as dangerous weapons of political and ideological war preparation. The further historical development demonstrated in detail how justified these warnings by the communists were. Many people in capitalist countries which at that time closed their eyes to these truths, minimized them or believed they would not be affected had to pay a high price for that.

The assertion that the communists consider war as the best condition for the revolution, again disseminated or exploited by imperialist reaction also at the present time, was rejected in principle by the congress as crude slander. The interest in a secure peace based on the class nature of the working class and of socialism was elaborated. Lasting peace, it was proved, creates the most favorable external conditions of development for the sole socialist country; it also provides better opportunities to the proletariat and the other working people in the capitalist countries to fight for their social and democratic rights and provides greater scope to the unfolding of the national liberation movement in the colonies and the semicolonial countries.

Especially owing to the strengthening of the socialist Soviet Union as well as also by the emerging antifascist mass movements in capitalist countries, real opportunities developed to ward off the danger of war. This also included the growing differentiation among the imperialist states. The initiative of the Soviet Union to bring together states of opposing social orders for defense against aggression by a system of collective security was linked to this very fact. In view of all that, Palmiro Togliatti (Ercoli) declared it as conceivable that "war not only" can "be postponed but under certain conditions the outbreak of a new imperialist war itself can be prevented."³ Georgi Dimitrov said: "Now not only the working class, the peasantry and the other working people but also the oppressed nations and the weak peoples whose independence is threatened by new wars advocate the cause of maintaining peace. Even some big capitalist states which are afraid of losses from a redistribution of the world are interested in avoiding war in the present stage. The possibility of the broadest united front of the working class, the working people and entire peoples against the danger of the imperialist war emerges from this situation."⁴

All these were new, creative answers corresponding to the changed international balance of power to the questions always moving the communist world movement concerning the paths of the struggle against imperialist predatory wars. For the first time the possibility was considered to prevent the outbreak of a concrete imperialist war also with continued existence of the capitalist social order. The generally democratic character of the struggle for peace became increasingly clear. Starting from this fact, the congress was able to approach the problems of the formation of the broadest possible alliance against fascism and war in a new manner.

To secure peace, the communists were determined to do everything to combine the most varied political and social forces in a world front for peace. "All our sections are faced with the task to do everything necessary," Palmiro Togliatti emphasized, "to gather all those for the struggle for peace who do not want war, who hate war, all who are ready to fight for peace...."⁵ It depended on the fact that this took place and that it took place--as it had also been emphasized at the congress--in time before the outbreak of a war whether or not the possibility to block the path of the fascist aggressor became a reality.

The communist world movement with the Seventh World Congress and its assessment undertook the greatest efforts to achieve such a result. This applied particularly also to the Communist Party of Germany which had to carry on its struggle

in direct confrontation with fascist German imperialism, the mortal enemy of all peoples. Supported by the leading Comintern organs, certain of the fraternal solidarity of the CPSU(B) and its other fraternal parties, the KPD a few months after the Seventh World Congress applied at its Brussels party conference the resolutions adopted at this world forum to the concrete conditions of its work and prepared a program of the struggle against fascism and war whose basic ideas have attained fundamental importance for the further development of the class struggle in Germany.

The joint action of the working class was a key question especially also from the standpoint of the peace struggle. Under this aspect, the communists also attributed maximum importance to the establishment of the united front of the working class, getting together of communists and social democrats on national and international scale. The communist movement therefore welcomed declarations of the leading bodies and renowned representatives of the Socialist Workers International in which the necessity of countering the fascist threat of war was emphasized. Taking account of the fact that especially also in the struggle against war the things that linked communists and social democrats outweighed what separated them, the Comintern in those years undertook numerous initiatives for joint action against the rising fascist facts of aggression, such as for the defense against the fascist invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, as well as for the defense of the Spanish Republic against the fascist interventionists in 1936.

The readiness for joint action with the communists grew in the ranks of the social democratic movement and became noticeable up to and including the leading bodies of the Socialist Workers International. But influential rightist social democratic leaders continued to be unwilling to divorce themselves from their anticommunist positions and to follow new paths. As the further development showed, this fateful attitude also affected the social democratic movement. The working class remained divided also in the struggle for peace.

Starting from the recognition that the creation of a broad peace front requires the cooperation of the working class with the members of other classes and social strata, such as of the working peasants, the intelligentsia, the urban middle classes up to and including circles of the bourgeoisie, the Comintern in September 1936 actively participated in the World Peace Congress in Brussels, the until then broadest conference of the forces of peace. In the struggle for as broad a front against fascism and war as possible, it proved to be especially significant that the Seventh World Congress also achieved differentiated thoughts regarding the attitude towards the pacifist movement. The communists expressed their readiness to cooperate with those pacifist forces and organizations which did not stop with abstract statements of hatred of every war but wanted to put up actual resistance to the fascist forces urging war.

The Soviet Union--Main Force of Peace

The delegates of the world congress combined their far-reaching initiatives for the creation of a world front for peace with advocacy for the then sole socialist country. For the first time in the history of the workers movement the struggle for peace conducted by the working class from the beginning had received a firm base and thus world-historically completely new possibilities

for action through the existence of the Soviet power. The Seventh World Congress noted: "The peace policy of the Soviet Union which confronts the hatred of peoples and races with proletarian internationalism, is directed not only at the defense of the Soviet country, at securing socialist upbuilding--it defends the life of the workers of all countries, the life of all oppressed and exploited; it signifies the defense of the national independence of the small nations, it serves the life interests of mankind, it protects culture from the barbarism of war."⁶ These declarations were fully confirmed by the subsequent development, especially by the world historical deed of liberation of the Soviet Union.

The congress called strengthening of the Soviet Union, its reliable defense against all its enemies as one of the causes corresponding to the very own interests of the international working class, of all peace-loving forces, of peace itself. In this sense--and that, too, belongs to the findings going far beyond that period--the peace-securing character of the armed forces of the socialist state was emphasized. "Since the Red Army has been in existence, we have in fact" Palmiro Togliatti underscored--"for the first time in world history a situation in which a big armed force was placed in the service of the cause of peace.... The Red Army, that is the army of peace, because it is the army of the working class."⁷

Numerous speakers gave a rebuff on principle to the anti-Soviet lie of a threat [coming from the Soviets], which the most aggressive imperialist forces were flogging to death even then. D. S. Manuilski stressed: "The Soviet Union needs no wars to transform the world. The peoples rising against their oppressors will do that themselves.... But the capitalist world does not want the socialist system to develop peaceably. It cannot live without wars and hurriedly pushes the working people towards new wars."⁸

Despite all tremendous efforts of the Soviet Union, of the communist world movement and other peace forces, fascist German imperialism was able to plunge the peoples into a new world war. Great responsibility for that is borne by the then ruling circles of the imperialist Western powers which were not prepared to curb the fascist war incendiaries in time. They speculated on being able to direct their thirst for conquest exclusively against the socialist Soviet Union. The policy of "appeasement" of the aggressor, however, did not lead to peace, as even rightist Social Democratic leaders wanted to make people believe, but to war. But those who pursued this disastrous policy themselves became victims of the aggression.

Not until the war was a broad front of peoples and states established against the fascist aggressor, as it had been sought by the Seventh World Congress, by the communist world movement for the prevention of the war and as it had been historically unparalleled. The worldwide anti-Hitler coalition, in which the Soviet Union constituted the principal force, defeated the fascist archenemy of the peoples and saved mankind from barbarism. The statements of the Seventh World Congress that the extreme imperialist reaction would be unable to reverse the wheel of history even with armed force proved to be correct. Its prediction proved to be correct that in case of a war forced on the Soviet Union by fascism, the Red Army would find sympathy and active support of the working people of many countries, that the socialist Soviet Union is invincible.

In the struggle against the predatory war of fascist German imperialism in many countries that were attacked or threatened by fascism, joint action of communists and social democrats, the combination of a broad coalition of democratic and patriotic forces developed with significant participation of the communists. Spurred on by the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against the fascist aggressors, under decisive influence of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, forces of the most varied origin, political positions and ideologies came together in the antifascist resistance movement, in the national fronts in many countries, forces whose concern was the common goal of victory over fascism.

History did not develop according to the plans of those who wanted to force their rule on the entire world. On the contrary. The transformation of socialism into a world system, the advance of the communist and workers movement and of the peoples fighting for their national liberation confirm that the analysis provided by the Seventh World Congress was correct. The Marxist-Leninist policy elaborated by it, its initiative for merging all forces against the fascist principal enemy of mankind proved itself under the hardest tests and accelerated social progress.

To Fight Against War Before it Starts

At present mankind faces great challenges. The course of the most aggressive imperialist circles of the United States and NATO for achieving military-strategic superiority has led to the most serious danger to peace since World War II. For the first time the question of war or peace has shifted into the dimension of a nuclear inferno and the danger of self-destruction of mankind has arisen. To fight against war before its outbreak--therein lies one of the most important lessons from the time five decades ago. The Soviet Union, the GDR and all other countries of the socialist community with their realistic proposals acceptable to all are guided by this lesson, proposals which show feasible ways to safeguard peace by ending the nuclear arms race on earth and preventing its spreading to space by achieving the principles of peaceful co-existence.

Historical experiences demand that everything be done to bring together all forces interested in peace, to create a broad coalition of reason and realism. Profound differences, contrasting political and ideological positions must not constitute any obstacle to placing the common basic interest in the safeguarding of peace in the center of attention and in using all strength to achieve it. Comrade Erich Honecker stressed: "Safeguarding of peace is a vital necessity and it is possible. Not only the danger of war has increased but also the forces have gained in strength which are able to counter and eliminate it."⁹

For this reason the power and influence of the Soviet Union and of the socialist community are of historical importance. Owing to the approximate military-strategic balance of power achieved owing to the Soviet Union proves to be a force safeguarding peace. The internal connection between a strong socialism and safeguarding of peace, of which the Seventh World Congress emphatically made aware, makes itself felt in a new world situation and in a new dimension--for the benefit of all mankind.

It is necessary to fight for peace--that was the basic tenor of the Seventh World Congress and that corresponds to our own experiences. The communists, the citizens of the GDR devote their entire strength to this most important concern--side by side with the Soviet Union, in internationalist solidarity with all fraternal countries, by deeds for further all-around strengthening and for reliable defense of socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Lectures and Resolutions," Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1975, p 339.
2. Ibid., p 93.
3. "Concluding Remarks of Comrade Ercoli," in: RUNDSCHAU UEBER POLITIK, WIRTSCHAFT UND ARBEITERBEWEGUNG, Basel, No. 74, 1935, Special Issue, p 2858.
4. Georgi Dimitrov, "Selected Writings," Vol 2, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1958, p 674.
5. "Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Lectures and Resolutions," p 223.
6. Ibid., pp 326-327.
7. Ibid., pp 209-210.
8. Ibid., p 292.
9. Erich Honecker, "A World Historical Deed That Also Liberated the German People," EINHEIT, No 4/5, 1985, p 299.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GREATER STRESS ON INTEGRATION, STANDARDIZATION OF PACT FORCES

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1985 (signed to press 9 May 85)
pp 169-170

[Article by Maj Gen Y Oreshko: "On Military-economic Integration of the Warsaw Pact States Under the Conditions of Comprehensive Intensification"]

[Text] The worldwide recognition of the decisive role of the Soviet Union and its glorious armed forces in the destruction of fascism on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its victory is closely connected with the 30th anniversary of the founding of the socialist defense alliance, of the Warsaw Pact. In many respects purpose and goal of this alliance are comparable to the battle of the progressive forces against Hitler fascism: Main aim is the protection of the peaceful life of our socialist peoples from the aggressive machinations of imperialism. The measures required for this purpose comprise all areas of social life.

As a component of this alliance, close cooperation among the socialist states and their armies has also developed in the military-economic field. It pursues the goal of guaranteeing the all-around material-technical safeguarding of the allied armed forces in an economically efficient manner and with high effectiveness. As the past decades show, this aim is also being achieved with increasingly better results.

As part of the socialist economic integration of CEMA, military-economic integration of the Warsaw Pact states has developed for specific military-economic processes, such as for research and development, production, modernization and repair of military equipment as well as its introduction, use, maintenance and all-around safeguarding in the fraternal armies. To deepen it continuously and to develop it generally is of great importance for the reliable military protection of socialism. Erich Honecker underscored this idea at the Ninth Plenum of the SED Central Committee as follows:

"To continue to follow the road of comprehensive intensification, and that for the long run, that constitutes the content of the new state of the implementation of our economic strategy."

This shows that we must achieve the road of comprehensive intensification in all measures for the further deepening of the military-economic integration in the

NVA and in the GDR economy to obtain the results required for the second half of the 80's.

In view of the aggressive strategy of U.S. imperialism and of NATO, their adventurist course of confrontation, their striving for military superiority and finally the goal of liquidating socialism, the economic strength of the socialist states united in the Warsaw defense alliance achieves special importance, since it is a decisive prerequisite for the military power of our states and their unified armed forces.

The grandiose economic development of socialism, especially of the Soviet Union, in final analysis has brought about that the approximate military-strategic balance of power between socialism and imperialism could be achieved.

This inseparable connection between economy and socialist national defense, which is decisively influenced in a positive manner by socialist economic integration, makes all measures of the further development of the economic cooperation of our socialist countries so significant, especially also for the reliable military protection.

This has been true in the past decades of the existence of the Warsaw Pact and it will also continue to be necessary until a realistic policy is pursued by the United States and NATO.

To reliably ensure the military protection of the fraternal socialist countries, the socialist armies are generally strengthened and are organized, structured, trained and commanded according to uniform Marxist-Leninist principles under the direction of the Soviet Union and its experienced armed forces, according to the military policy of our Marxist-Leninist parties in all our countries. In this connection their supply with military equipment also takes place--increasingly from the own economy of the countries concerned as well as by mutual deliveries of the fraternal countries among themselves. Socialist economic integration has given content and form to this process. It is essential from a military aspect how the further development and deepening of the socialist economic integration receives new impetus through comprehensive intensification. In this connection we are certain that the superiority of the socialist social order will continue to be convincingly demonstrated also in this field.

In contrast to the armament cooperation of the imperialist states, which creates the material-technical basis for the aggressive policy of imperialism through the military-industrial complex and at the same time further foments this adventurist policy in the interest of achieving maximum profit of the monopolies, the military economic cooperation of the socialist states is shaped by a profound desire for peace.

Under socialism, development and production of military equipment does not take place in accordance with profit interests but according to the requirements of the necessary military protection of socialism.

Here applies the principle to get ready whatever is required for national defense. All efforts in socialism are directed towards making the expenditures

for the economic safeguarding of national defense as effective as possible. This signifies using the expenditures for national defense in one's own country with maximum efficiency but also letting it become highly effective for the allied armies also in the framework of socialist economic integration.

The results achieved in past years nationally and internationally are reflected in the combat effectiveness and readiness of the socialist armies, which are guaranteed also owing to the supply with modern military equipment from the CEMA countries and the efficient, effective employment of the economic resources in the economies of our countries in new development, modernization and production of military equipment for the allied armed forces. This demonstrates that socialist economic integration creates decisive prerequisites in the field of military-economic cooperation to be able to ensure the peacekeeping function to be fulfilled by the allied armed forces in material-technical respect.

In the socialist armies it is important to achieve maximum results with the material and financial means made available. Colonel General Kessler, deputy minister and chief of the Political Main Administration, formulated this concept for the NVA at the Ninth Central Committee Plenum as follows:

"In the organization and implementation of military tasks it is important to further improve the relationship of expenditure and result and to achieve high material and energy economy and maximum effectiveness in the use of the material and financial means."

Military-economic cooperation of the states and armies of the Warsaw Pact as part of socialist economic integration comprises a diverse complex of international measures to solve questions of development, production, introduction, modernization, maintenance and repair of military equipment. These measures are directed especially towards the following aspects:

1. New military equipment prototypes are to be developed, tested, selected and produced. They must meet the requirements of modern military thought and must be unified to the maximum possible for the allied armies. In this connection it is important not to grant either any lead or any superiority to the enemy.
2. Parallel work in research and development is to be avoided and short target dates are to be ensured for the achievement of positive results in the research and development process and for introduction into series production. In this connection, the volume of the series must guarantee satisfaction of the demand.
3. A high stage of international specialization and cooperation in the production of military equipment is to be achieved. This makes possible application of modern production technologies, production of large numbers within a short time and achievement of a favorable cost-benefit ratio.

The times of the generation change of military equipment, which become constantly shorter because of the scientific-technical progress, can be mastered more quickly and better by means of the socialist economic integration within the framework of the military-economic cooperation than by each country by itself. At the same time the expenditures of the individual states can be kept within acceptable limits.

In line with the comprehensive intensification in the military-economic field, the following tasks are in the center of attention within the framework of the military-economic cooperation of the Warsaw Pact states:

First of all, carefully coordinated production of military equipment occurs following agreed-upon nomenclature and specialization to be determined, with which we make our military-economic contribution to the securing of the approximate military-strategic balance and thus to the maintenance of peace. At the same time, the possibilities of foreign trade for the further support of the intensification process in the GDR economy improve in this connection. The aim is to utilize new findings from the "pacesetter areas" of the economy, such as microelectronics, optoelectronics, biotechnology, etc for national defense. Furthermore it is possible to intensify various forms of scientific-technical cooperation, especially with the USSR, and thus to make use in this manner of scientific-technical progress for the economy, too.

Secondly, a purposeful continuous modernization and effective repair of military equipment is undertaken. These measures act as an essential factor of the intensification in the field of economically safeguarding of national defense and occupy an important place in the material-technical safeguarding of the Unified Armed Forces within the framework of socialist economic integration.

Important efficiency results are achieved by modernization measures on the main types of military equipment. In important ground forces equipment, for example, a considerable increase in combat effectiveness is achieved as compared with equipment that has not been modernized. The tactical-technical parameters of this modernized equipment thus largely approaches the level of the corresponding follow-on equipment. At the same time considerable cost savings occur since the costs of the production of component assemblies and individual parts for modernization is considerably lower than the cost of the production of the follow-on equipment.

These modernization measures, which can be combined with planned overhauls or also as single modernization, make a very detailed specialization, cooperation and division of labor possible within the framework of socialist economic integration. For the next few years these modernization measures constitute a special point of emphasis of the intensification measures in the military-technical field. Their advantages for the Unified Armed Forces are very obvious. They consist above all in rapidly enhancing of the combat effectiveness of the existing military technology, in the reduction of extensive and expensive re-equipment measures, of facilitating training measures connected therewith, etc. But there are also important advantages for the economy. Here there are especially lower expenditures for national defense, the use of existing technological facilities for the production of military equipment, possibilities of mobilizing experienced scientific-technical research and development collectives and utilization of manifold reserves.

A third complex which acts in the direction of comprehensive intensification are the measures of unification and standardization of military equipment to be carried out in the military-technical field. These measures of course can only

be effectively achieved within the framework of the Unified Armed Forces, thus as international measures by socialist military-economic integration.

Unified and standardized military equipment is of enormous importance to coalition armed forces, as represented by our socialist armies in the Warsaw defense alliance, to be able to achieve high military operational results. They are a basic prerequisite for the interchangeability and adaptability of weapons and equipment among the fraternal armies but, just as important, for effective production and for the application of modern technologies in the CEMA country economies.

Work in the field of unification/standardization has been going on for years in the Unified Armed Forces. Extensive and profitable results were achieved here. As part of the work of the technical committee of the Unified Armed Forces, a great number of unification analyses and hundreds of CEMA military standards for military equipment systems and complexes were developed.

Development of the main directions of unification/standardization up to the 90's is a task for the near future. Initial calculations within the coalition show that considerable cost savings and a considerable increase in combat effectiveness of the military equipment can be achieved by these measures, too.

Fourthly, of great importance for a growing effectiveness in the material-technical safeguarding of the national defense as part of the socialist economic integration are direct relations between special economic units of the CEMA countries which develop, produce, modernize and repair the military equipment.

Such direct relations are to be regarded as important intensification factors of the next few years for the economic safeguarding of national defense. Extensive positive experiences in this respect are already available. For certain enterprises which produce military equipment there is already a good tradition in this field.

Thus, e.g., during the past 15 years GDR enterprises established close direct relations with numerous enterprises in the fraternal countries. This cooperation took place in various fields of military equipment.

Within the framework of this direct cooperation numerous topics on the technology of the production, modernization and repair of military equipment were discussed in consultations. Subjects of such relations are furthermore questions of general and operational safety, testing of military equipment, spareparts and component assistance and others. But the personal contacts of the working people are of great value, too. To further develop these direct relations between enterprises with special production of the GDR and enterprises of the other fraternal countries for research, development, production, modernization and repair of military equipment is a key factor of the future work. The reserves available for this purpose must be purposefully utilized.

In all these considerations in the military-economic field it becomes evident that the advantages of socialism are not spontaneously or automatically converted into military-economic capacity. The processes of the military-economic integration within the framework of the socialist economic integration, too, must always be scientifically substantiated, organized for the long term and purposefully managed.

In this connection it is important to recognize new problems and requirements in time and to bring about a solution for the benefit of the entire community of states. To this end great efforts are necessary on the part of the NVA and the GDR economy in the future, too.

12356
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SOVIET AIR TECHNOLOGY IN SERVICES OF CSA

Prague LETECTVIA KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 10, 1985 pp 380-381

[Text] Current models of Soviet civilian transport planes basically fulfill the requirements of the times and those who operate them, as far as flight performance and load capacity are concerned. But it is only natural that planes now in use continue to be modernized and that other, new structures, are taking shape. Thus the following questions present themselves: "In what direction will the development of air technology go; how will it be perfected?" Our answer is that Soviet aircraft design engineers are giving priority to: equipment and flight-navigational mechanisms, reducing fuel demands and thus also the consumption of aviation fuel, and solving the problem of noise and exhaust.

The requirements are specified in both international and domestic regulations, which are becoming more stringent in the course of time, and which present the construction teams with the task of designing aircraft which will not only conform to the requirements, but will also be satisfactory for 15 to 20 years.

As far as modernization is concerned, it is gradually being realized by outfitting the types of aircraft already in use, but currently there are also new models on the drawing board or in the testing stage.

In the first group belong planes of the type II-62M, Jak-42, and Tu-154M; to the second group belong the provisionally designated models: II-114 for local and short routes with a capacity of 60 passengers, Tu-204 for the magisterial long distance and transcontinental routes with a capacity for 250-300 passengers.

Soviet Air Technology in the Services of CSA Tomorrow....

Modernization, as well as the development of the above mentioned types of aircraft, is being followed with increased attention by CSA, and thanks to cooperation with Soviet design engineers, they are being kept abreast of current developments.

As far as the modernization of the II-62M model is concerned, its design and performance parameters are not going to be changed. Modernization will be carried out in its instrumentation; the existing navigational system

will be replaced by a new comprehensive system, the basis of which will constitute a new type of triple inertial system, and a new system for optimizing flight control. At the same time, work is being done on modification of engines and engine nacelles with the aim of achieving a decrease in outside noise level and the degree of air pollution.

The 120 passenger aircraft Jak-42, designed for short routes, made its appearance in October 1984 once again on Aeroflot line. In the intervening time, some technical problems have been solved.

Specifications for Jak-42: wing span 34.20 meters; length 36.38 meters; height 9.80 meters; take-off mass 53,500 kilograms; cruising speed 750-800 kilometers per hour; cruising altitude 10,000 meters; flying range with a load of 14.5 tons=900 kilometers; 10.5 tons=2,000 kilometers; 6.5 tons=3,000 kilometers; D-36 engines with a thrust of 73.6 kilonewtons; 2 crew members; consumption of aviation fuel 35-36 grams per person per kilometer; passenger compartment has 6 seats to a row.

On the basis of an Aeroflot order, the OKB Jakovlev are currently preparing a technical design for the Jak-42M aircraft. The production of this aircraft should begin in 1987. It will be derived from the basic model; in order to increase its capacity and productivity, the fuselage will be 4.5 meters longer, the number of seat will be increased to 156 up to 168; maximum take-off mass will be increased to 66,000 kilograms; propulsion units--3 D-436 engines with a thrust of 73.6 kilonewtons. The Jak-42M plane needs a runway length of 2,300 meters with a maximum take-off mass, a length of 1,800 meters for a 62,000 take-off mass; flying range with a load of tons=2,500 kilometers; 10 tons=3,750 kilometers and a range of 2,500 kilometers with a navigational reserve of 4,000 kilometers. Instrumental equipment make possible a level navigation. And one more point, which is one of the most important indicators of its economy, the consumption of aviation fuel--the model Jak-42M attains the value of 25 grams per person per kilometer.

The modified aircraft Tu-154M, in contrast to the operational model Tu-154B with NK-8-2U, is equipped with D-30KU-154 engines of the second series and an improved mechanization of the wing. As a result of these and other modifications, it possesses better aerodynamic properties and a lower consumption of aviation fuel--28 grams per person per kilometer. Modifications of engine nacelles and noise absorption panels in the engine inlets led to a lower noise level, so that the Tu-154M will meet the conditions of Chapter 3, Appendix 16, of the International Civil Aviation Organization; its instrumentation will be similar to that of the II-62.M.

Specifications for the Tu-154M: maximum take-off mass 100,000 kilograms; maximum load 18,000 kilograms; maximum speed 950 kilometers per hour; flying range with load of 18 tons=3,000 kilometers; 12 tons=5,200 kilometers; 6 tons=6,500 kilometers; capacity 165-180 seats, crew of 3.

One of the group of newly planned Soviet transport planes is the II-114 designed for local and pick-up transport on short routes. The all-metal low wing aircraft has the classic arrangement of VOP and is propelled by 2 turboprop engines with an output of 1,838 Kilowatts; it is designed to transport 60 passengers (seats being arranged 4 to a row).

Specifications for the II-114: wing span 28.5 meters; length 25.0 meters; height 8.5 meters; diameter of the body 2.8 meters; maximum take-off mass 20,250 kilograms; maximum load capacity 6,000 kilograms; flying range with a load of 5.4 tons=1,000 kilometers; 3.5 tons=2,580 kilometers; 1.5 tons=4,800 kilometers; cruising altitude 6,000-8,000 meters; cruising speed 500 kilometers per hour; mean consumption of aviation fuel 21 grams per person per kilometer.

This plane is built to be used on airfields with both grassy and paved runways; instrumentation with a new generation of flight and navigational systems will make it possible to have flights under conditions of the 2nd category of ICAO. Its service life is designed to be 30,000 flying hours and 30,000 landings.

The Tu-204 plane for magisterial routes of intermediate length is planned as an all-metal, low wing plane with 2 engines placed on pylons under the wings; unified engines with a large by-pass ratio have a thrust of 157 kilonewtons. The fuselage of ellipsoid cross-section has a width of 3.8 meter; height of 4.08 meters; in the passenger compartment, which has a height of 2.2 meters, seats are placed 6 to a row. The basic version is proposed to have 198, the economy version 211 seats. The cockpit for 2-3 crew members (2 pilots or 2 pilots and a flight engineer) will be of the so-called dark type (under optimal conditions none of the displays are luminescent); the traditional steering column with a steering wheel will be replaced by side-mounted controls (similarly as on the A-320 airbus). Instrumentation and radio-navigational equipment of a new generation will make possible operations under conditions of IIIA category of ICAO, the noise level will conform to the requirements of Chapter 3, Appendix 16 of ICAO. Equipment includes a system of automatic mass reading and determination of the position of the center of gravity, and a system for optimization of flight control.

Specifications for Tu-204; maximum load 21,000 kilograms; cruising speed $M=0.8$; landing speed maximum 250 kilometers per hour; cruising altitude 11,000--12,000 meters; flying range with a load of 21 tons=2,400 kilometers; 17.2 tons=3,500 kilometers; with 212 passengers 2,600 kilometers; mean consumption of aviation fuel 21.5 grams per person per kilometer. Service life is designed to be 45,000 flying hour and 30,000 landings.

The II-96 plane for long-distance and magisterial routes is constructed similarly as the airbus II-86, using new materials and the latest techniques and technology. The wing of the new construction with a supercritical thinness profile of 9.5 and a sweep of 30 degree has a wing area of 350 square meters. It will be propelled by 4 unified engines with a thrust of 157 kilonewtons. In the fuselage, having a diameter of 6.08 meters, the passenger compartments will be arranged according to the particular version for 235--300 passengers with 8 or 9 seats to a row. The crew will have 3 members (2 pilots and a flight engineer), the cock-pit will be of the so-called dark type. The instrumentation will be similar to that of the planes designed for intermediate routes, including a system for automatic determination of the current mass and center of gravity of the aircraft, and a system for the optimization of flight control; noise parameters will conform to the requirements of Chapter 3, Appendix 16, of ICAO.

Specifications for the II-96: wing span 57.66 meters; length 55.35 meters; height 17.57 meters; maximum landing mass 17,500 kilograms; flying range with a load of 30 tons=9,000 kilometers; 15 tons=11,000 kilometers; cruising speed 850--900 kilometers per hour at 9,000--12,000 meters; landing speed 250--270 kilometers per hour; mean consumption of aviation fuel 26.4 grams per person per kilometer. Service life is designed to be 60,000 flight hours and 12,000 landings.

All the projected models will use instrumentation and navigational systems with data projected on color display screens. Certain conventional indicators--RMI, altimeter, combined knot-meter, indicator of Mach number, magnetic spherical compass and artificial horizon--were retained for the extremely unlikely case that electronic display unit would fail. Two horizontally placed color display screens on the instrument panel of both the 1st and 2nd pilot give information about the navigational situation on the horizontal plane, and about the pitch and roll of the aircraft and all information needed to maintain the aircraft on a vertical plane. The redundant navigational computer processes, for the above mentioned color display screens, information from the triple inertial sensors, double sensors of the angle of attack, double aerodynamic centrals, combined VOR/DME, radio system of long-distance navigation, satellite navigation system, radio system of navigation for short distances, radiolocator, radio frequency and time generator, combined receivers of beacons for landing approaches, and from combined radio altimeters. To facilitate operations under conditions of the III. category of ICAO there is also the ILS computer, which uses signals of beacon receivers for landing approaches and inertial sensors. The ILS information is projected on the glass in front of the pilot. To control the aircraft immediately before touch-down and on take-off there is a system of projecting the image of the runway. The same display units are used by the tripled system of flight control and tripled symbol generators, common to both the flight-navigational complex and system of flight control which ensures automatic landing approach under conditions of the 3rd category of ICAO, automates flight along a flight path market by way points with a degree of accuracy set by requirements of minimal navigational performance (established by ICAO documentation for North Atlantic as well as for controlled airport perimeters). The comprehensive system of internal control of cockpit systems and signals of irregularities has redundant main elements, i.e., computer, symbol generator, and color display screen on the instrument panel of the flight engineer. Permanent memory will make it possible to indicate to the ground personnel what is the state of cockpit system during the flight and inform them about irregularities in the overall status of the aircraft.

This gives one brief idea of Soviet air technology, which will be incorporated into air traffic operations at the turning point between the 1980's and 1990's.

Which aircraft models of Soviet design and manufacture will make their appearance in the services of CSA tomorrow...? This has not been decided upon definitely, in the meantime CSA when making their future plans, pay particular attention to optimal network of routes and structure of airline timetables, as well as the composition of its aircraft fleet. The final

determination will depend on conditions and on financial means which will be made available for the purchase of new air technology. No doubt, however, CSA will wish and endeavor to be again, as in the past, among those using Soviet air technology, which at this time is being planned by experienced, proven construction teams.

In the next issue: a roster of CSA aircraft.

12605
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CURRENT CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN CSSR

Bonn DIE WELT in German 9 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Carl Gustaf Stroehm: "Prague Regime Booed at Velehrad"]

[Text] The whistles and demonstrations of discontent with which the representatives of the CSSR regime, led by Minister of Culture Milan Klusak, known for his harsh position vis-a-vis the Church, were met at the St Methodius celebrations at Velehrad must have made the Prague leadership think. One hundred and fifty thousand people had gathered at the Moravian shrine to honor the apostle of the Slavs. It was the greatest church gathering in Czechoslovakia since the communists took power. It was the first mass protest by Czechs and Slovaks since the end of the Dubcek era.

The communist regime in Prague must be all the more on its guard in the aftermath of the Velehrad events in view of the fact that the newly installed Gorbachev team in Moscow will spare no effort to solidify discipline and coherence inside the socialist bloc. The very suspicion that "Polish conditions" might take hold in Czechoslovakia must be avoided at all costs. The fact that a great many young people took part in the gathering will also raise the question of whether the massive atheistic propaganda of the past four decades has not been a failure.

On the other hand, the Husak regime's sensitivity to Western criticism should not be overestimated. The Prague rulers are counting on the fact that the faithful who protested at Velehrad will soon return to their everyday concerns. The police already took down the names of many people in the course of checking their identity documents. Those concerned will get to feel the subtle revenge of the communists, once they look for a promotion, apply for a passport to go abroad or try to get a more desirable apartment.

Nonetheless, the Prague leadership will probably be trying just now to relax internal pressure by granting certain formal concessions. This seems to be part of a dual strategy. On the one hand, there is a rigorous ban on permitting foreign cardinals to enter the country which was primarily designed to keep out Polish primate Glemp after the original plans for the Papal visit were scuttled. John Paul II and Glemp were suspected of wanting to transmit the "Polish bacillus" to Bohemia and Moravia.

On the other hand, Vatican Secretary of State Casaroli was welcomed with all honors and a large escort. This probably indicates an upcoming tactical move by the communists. The Prague government might reach agreement with the Vatican on filling the five vacant bishoprics and the two vacant arch-bishoprics of Olomouc and Trnava--even though there would be no fundamental change in the situation of the Catholic Church.

Just how oppressive the situation of the Czech and Slovak Catholics is today can be seen when one considers the nature of the St Methodius celebrations in Croatia and in Moravia side by side. The Yugoslav communists are also opposed to the church. But in Djakovo in Croatia foreign Catholic notables took part in the festivities unhindered but some of them were locked out by the Czechs 2 days later. In Yugoslavia, the Catholic Church can make use of its large-circulation publications, e.g. GLAS KONCILA in Zagreb or DRUZINA in Ljubljana at any time to contest the views of the communist ideologues and publicly to defend the church point of view. For another thing, Yugoslavia's Catholic dignitaries are free at any time to travel to Rome for a visit with the Pope.

Now that does not mean that there is no discrimination of Christianity or of the faithful in Yugoslavia. But things are relative, as they so often are in life. The faithful in Czechoslovakia cannot even begin to imagine "Yugoslav conditions" in the relationship between the church and their regime. The humiliation and chicanery to which 86 year-old Cardinal Tomásek of Prague is being subjected constantly speaks for itself.

Velehrad was a great day for the hard-pressed church in Czechoslovakia. The St Methodius celebration became a signal. But it is unlikely that there will be rapid repercussions in the sense of a sudden shift or continuing mass protest such as in Poland. The regime has the power and retains it and behind it stand the Soviet divisions and missiles. In addition, the lessons of 1968 have led to a profound depoliticization of large segments of the population and to a general withdrawal into private concerns.

But in the long run, in historic times, Velehrad and the memory of St Methodius might signal a shift after all. Unless all the signs deceive us, the Slavic Pope in Rome is pinning his hopes on this long-term trend which one day is to reunify the divided old continent of Europe.

9478
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR FACING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC DILEMMAS

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 13 Jul 85 pp 3-4

[Article by "R. St.": "Continuing Stagnation in Czechoslovakia"]

[Excerpt] Prague, in July--There was one particular sentence in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the Supreme Soviet which made people here sit up and take notice. Gorbachev said there was a time when there was some justification for having one man occupy the post of party leader and head of state, but that time was now past. In Prague, Gustav Husak has been head of the party since 1969 and president of the republic since 1975 and he has just been reconfirmed in the latter post for another 5 years. There is no real reason to assume that the Kremlin chief meant to give the leaders of the bloc countries a broad hint but such statements do make one think and that, in fact, is what is happening among Prague political circles. To be sure, rumors about separating the party and government leaderships tend to crop up at fairly regular intervals here and it is hard to tell whether there is more to them this time around. Gustav Husak is 72 years old and so far he has been considered the only man capable of steering a middle course between the hardliners such as Bilak, Fojtik and Havlin and the more pragmatic group centering on Minister President Strougal. Most recently, an old eye condition has been given Husak some trouble again.

Movement in political life along the Vltava can only be detected with the aid of a seismograph. There is such a delicate balance that the leadership group which took over power in 1969 has remained virtually unchanged into the eighties. Some changes have been made, but that was only 2 years ago. The basic tenet of "no experiments" is still being followed by the party leadership. Under the circumstances, it has been almost a miracle that a pragmatic economist like Minister President Strougal has managed to hold on for such a long time. Economic constraints appear to have forced the hardliners into the defensive. Vasil Bilak has lost influence and whenever people talk about a successor to Husak these days, the name most often mentioned is that of Milos Jakes. Jakes has not been as far out front as ideologist Bilak but should be acceptable to Moscow as a trustworthy administrator nonetheless.

At the height of the Polish crisis, Bilak characterized indebtedness on the part of a socialist state to capitalist countries as a pact with the devil. Since then, Czechoslovakia has gradually been paying off its hard currency

debts, which were small to start with. At this time, they amount to less than \$1 billion. New loans are taken up only for clearly defined projects. The consequence of this policy has been greater dependence of Czechoslovakia on CEMA and on the Soviet Union in particular. At the CEMA summit a year ago, Czechoslovakia took the position that the member countries should first fulfill their obligations to the communist economic organization. Gorbachev is sure to have no objections to that. On the other hand, this policy by Prague results in large-scale abandonment of any innovation, since none of the CEMA member nations are developing any new technologies.

In the recent past, more and more economic writers have been voicing criticism of the stagnating economy. In a series of articles appearing in POLITICKA EKONOMIE, a journal published by the academy of sciences, Valtr Komarek carefully and yet outspokenly notes that the economic potential of the country could not be used to full advantage unless basic changes in the structure and the mechanics of the economy were undertaken. The author not only refers to the well-known underemployment in the factories but also to excessive use of energy and raw materials as compared to Western nations. He seems to be suggesting an industrial and economic policy patterned after the Hungarian model as a way out; but caution constrains him not to mention the model by name.

In HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, a somewhat more popularly written economic journal, one reads with some interest that those responsible for tourism are giving thought to greater utilization of the potential for tourism. At the end of 1984, the capital city of Prague, which draws by far the most foreign tourists, had 9,300 hotel beds. By comparison, ministries and other state-owned enterprises are in a position to provide some 45,000 beds to their guests. The ministries of industry and heavy industry alone have 7,650 beds at their disposal and the foreign trade ministry has more than 1,500. An agreement does exist between the universities and the tourist organizations according to which student housing can be used for tourist purposes during the summer months; but the available space is poorly used most of the time. According to the [journal's] report, the operation of these official accommodations is totally uneconomical. The report's author, an official of the National Committee for Trade and Tourism, believes that Prague does not need any new hotels but that the accommodations reserved for official use should be placed at the disposal of the tourist industry. This request seems obvious enough; but its implementation would call for rethinking on the part of the conservatives among the party leadership.

The Prague leadership is fond of pointing out that the masses of the people are well off and are not being deprived of anything and that only a handful of non-conformist intellectuals are rebelling against the system. Gorbachev's plan to do away with large-scale and small-scale corruption is not likely to make the leadership very happy because the "buddy-buddy" principle is not only a way of life but in a certain sense has almost become a factor which upholds the state.

9478
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MORE EFFECTIVE TREATMENT FOR ALCOHOLICS URGED

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak 11 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Dr Stanislav Kunda, CSc, chairman of the Psychiatric Department of the Kraj Institute of National Health at Banska Bystrica: "It Will Not Work Without Consistency"]

[Excerpts] As a healthy local patriot, I am most disturbed by the considerable danger which exists for our region of Orava, Liptov or the upper Hron area, where the consumption of spirits and alcoholic beverages is alarmingly high. For example, in the Okres of Dolny Kubin per capita consumption during the past 2 years was 19.7 liters. Currently, we are speaking of the historically highest consumption of alcohol in our country and this requires appropriate measures.

The fact remains that the majority of measures, which stem from regular analyses, beginning at the highest party and government levels and ending in comprehensive workups within the framework of individual jurisdictions, penetrate into real life situations slowly, sporadically, virtually in an unscientific manner. It must be admitted that some analyses are superficial and distort reality. How else could we explain, for example, that in the health care industry the average number of patients per antialcohol consulting office in Slovakia is virtually double that in the CSR. The number of dispensary patients were seen by relatively fewer physicians than is the case in the Czech lands: in the CSR, 1 physician saw 3,630 patients, in the SSR as many as 5,806. And what is not taken into consideration at all is that of the number of dispensary patients in the CSSR 1.6 percent were Czech and 2.1 percent were from the Slovak population over 15 years of age--in other words, every 64th person in the Czech Socialist Republic and every 48th person in the Slovak Socialist Republic of this age group. It should be remembered that, compared to the CSR, the Slovak consumer drinks 28 percent less beer but 25 percent more wine and almost double the volume of concentrates. Recomputed in terms of absolute alcohol, consumption in Slovakia in 1980 was 16 percent higher than consumption in the Czech lands with the long-term statistics indicating that this difference is constantly increasing.

Antialcohol consultation offices (today also antidrug ambulatoria) are considered to be the fundamental foci in the battle against alcoholism since their mission is primarily the treatment of individuals dependent on alcohol. They

could also take on a broader preventive function, such as the dispensing of preventive care which is generally being applied in the health care industry. After all, according to screenings conducted in the West Slovakia Kraj, up to 39 percent of men and 13.8 percent of women have problems with alcohol to such an extent that they should seek medical advice. In other words, there is enough to classify here and each "classification" should be based on specialized knowledge. From my own experiences, I find that just within the framework of the Kraj Institute of National Health at Banska Bystrica, at the detached workplace at Pobrezova, we are attaining very nice results in the treatment of alcoholics--53- to 55-percent success rate--and this success rate is frequently added to the rates reported for the work of the detoxification ambulatoria in the okres where the patient finishes treatment after returning from being hospitalized in our facility. The variable quality of these facilities is conditioned also by an appropriate level of methodological direction within the framework of the kraj or of the entire SSR.

The work of many antialcoholic groups is, at the very least, somnolent, some groups ignore it for long periods of time and for others it is a forced duty. The rebirth of antialcoholic groups, their need to rid themselves of formality so they would have a serious attitude everywhere and so that their work would be directly felt in our life, has been discussed repeatedly. The activity of antialcoholic groups should be palpable most at the lowest levels--in municipal and local antialcoholic groups, possibly in national committee commissions, commissions of enterprises and establishments. In actual fact, many a higher component knows nothing about a lower component and many a lower component knows nothing about a higher component.

It is true that alcoholism has varied roots. This article is written more or less from the standpoint of a health worker--an alcohol specialist. Workers from other specialties, for instance sociologists, should speak up here.

To prevent alcoholism and to effectively treat it is not possible without an extensive research program which would include research in genetic contingencies, developmental, physiological and psychological conditions underlying the occurrence of alcoholism, research aimed at various professions, social groups, subcultures, etc. The fact that we do not have a research institute or a research facility, the fact that the development of antialcoholic health care is lagging within the framework of our health care system is also proof of the need of a comprehensive approach to the problem. Fulfillment of the social requirement in treatment-preventive care, support of sociotherapeutic clubs, research, the revival of the activities of antialcoholic groups--these are matters I rank in first place as a health worker. Our socialist society has the best possibilities for activating all, particularly those who are competent, again and consistently. Naturally, we cannot manage without financial appropriations nor without consistency.

5911
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY WORKER PROTESTS WAGE POLICY

Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech 20 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by Bohumil Sich, Kladno: "... And Now a Word From an Economic Worker"]

[Text] I am in full agreement with the contents of the article written by Comrade Kovacik entitled "Worker's Word" (HALO SOBOTA, 1 June 1985). I have had similar experiences. In recent times, unfortunately, such words have not enjoyed sufficient attention. Some people felt that they were not up to standard. However, practice has not infrequently confirmed their truthfulness. But let us return to the article.

With respect to the first question: During the many years of my work as an official and an economic worker I experienced several proposals designed to solve wage policy. Each of the proposals was supposed to be more thorough than the preceding one--at least according to their authors and publicists. However, the overall impact is completely different; today, following a number of "improvements" there is unbelievable confusion in wages in this country. One such "specialized delicacy" in this area was the amalgamation of worker categories T and A, which is mentioned by Comrade Kovacik. This policy led to unbelievable disproportions in the utilization and status of workers. With respect to remuneration, we are getting away from socialist principles rather than getting closer to them.... According to myself--despite my lofty title--not even the current restructuring of wages is in harmony with the most recent experiences. In publicizing it, the impression is formed that it is only a question of raising the basic worker wages on the premise that output norms would be objectively set and the fact is missed that it is also a question (and I am adding this) of raising the wages of management workers, primarily according to the rank of their functional assignments. And let us say openly that the level attained in the management area is not at the required level....

Or let us take our membership meetings. Trade union meetings, party meetings, etc. Why are they frequently formal in nature, why are discussion contributions prepared ahead of time and why is the majority of them read? This is also food for thought. Just like the distribution of Revolutionary Trade Union Movement vouchers. Or the question of the "cult" of completing one's studies. We have criminally narrowed the concept of qualification. It is an open secret that bribery exists, not only from the standpoint of admissions

but also with respect to taking examinations. I fully stand behind the contents of the article published by Comrade Jug, "It Is Not Sufficient to Merely Study," in RUDE PRAVO, 18 June 1985.

And finally, a word with respect to the relationship between some managers and a portion of the intelligentsia toward the working class. In my opinion, this is one of the important qualifications required to fulfill the function of a manager in a socialist society. The relationship of some economic managers and officials toward the working class is attested to by the fact that a number of them consider it a shame for the entire family for their offsprings to enter the trades. Apart from this, the daily press has published the documents stemming from the 15th Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. It is only possible to agree with them.

5911
CSO: 2400/518

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CONTROL COMMISSIONS REPORT ABUSES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Jun 85 p 4

[Text] The CPS Presidium letter and the resolution of the Slovak Government on intensifying the struggle against breaches in socialist legality, morality and discipline, caused the national committees as well to devote more attention to uncovering and prosecuting such antisocial behavior. In most cases this was manifested in a deeper study and implementation of the Set of Measures for Preventing Profiteering, and in more effective material punishment of gain from illicit sources.

Results of control, however, show that even in the national committee jurisdictions the extent and forms of profiteering have not substantially changed. The reasons should be sought in the fact that in many localities these measures remained vague and formalist in nature or--where they were correct--leading officials were applying them half-heartedly and in unprincipled fashion.

In checking we discovered that seemingly small infractions, if allowed to go unchecked, provide fertile ground for antisocial activity, or even serve as its roots. The council of the District National Committee in Dunajska Streda last year dealt three times with cases of profiteering and each time simply drew up plans for additional measures against it. In a district enterprise of housing administration, they dealt with this problem only once in late January of this year and simply found that there had been no cases last year of infraction of labor and financial discipline. At the same time, the district financial administration uncovered such serious shortcomings in the collection of income tax that it had to fine the enterprise Kcs 17,617.

In checking a report on the administration and protection of public property, the peoples' control committee in the District National Committee in Galanta found that the chief architect's office there had paid out non-approved travel expenses, bonuses, and used the organization's funds for private car repair. In the Galanta Local National Committee they discovered during a spot control operation that former ushers in a summer movie theater were taking tickets from visitors and, without encountering any difficulties, were then reselling them to other customers.

The damage commission of the restaurant chain Velky Krtis recommended cadre changes when it found incorrect accounting. Similar demands were made at various branch meetings, all in vain. Thus, it was not surprising that one of the restaurant staffers has a shortage in January of last year of Kcs 13,000. This grew to Kcs 21,000 in February, after he had paid back the original sum. The final shortage, Kcs 228,500, was discovered in his absence. He tried to escape across our borders but was arrested in the attempt.

In Kosice they discovered that some restaurants had charged Kcs 204,000 in fixed assets and materials worth 27,500 to a "plant 012" which did not exist. Those who caused such shortage are no longer signing contracts or reducing wages.

In the district enterprise Drevovyroba, a lumber producing operation, warehouse employees have not signed material responsibility agreements, do not keep records as required and accounting for supplies is haphazard. In a carpentry enterprise in Kosice, plant security discovered that financial records were kept without dates and signatures, as a result of which the enterprise incurred considerable losses.

A housing administration plant in Spisska Nova Ves sold a ZUK vehicle to a private citizen for a used car price of Kcs 2,048, without securing prior price estimated on it or offering it first to another state organization or putting it up for auction.

The Potatranske Restaurants in Poprad found that during the first half of 1984 alone, 16 employees had committed the crime of overpricing customers 17 times. In the second half of 1984, this figure rose to 33. Unsealed bottles and other evidence were found showing private use and sale of state supplies.

The methods and forms of infractions against the Set of Measures are many. Each one, even seemingly the smallest, represents a piece in the mosaic of carelessness in handling public property and, regrettably, even petty bourgeois greed and thirst for unearned gain. It has always been true and always will be that even petty offenses eventually develop into serious crime.

9496
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, JUNE 1985

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 6, Jun 85 (signed to press 13 May 85)
pp 482, 575

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; pp 487-496. A full translation of this article will be published in the JPRS Economics series]

[Text] Preparing for the Eleventh SED Congress by the Best Possible Performances

For each combine resolutely to take the approach of comprehensive intensification, it will be imperative to make science and technology the crucial factor for performance growth, to everywhere conduct the struggle for the greatest possible labor productivity and to further lower materials and energy consumption. Backed by the experiences gained in the combines, the author describes what it means by new criteria to raise work in general to a higher standard, and, consequently, what key points to be focused on by combine managements.

[Summary of article by Diploma Engineer and Economist Kurt Weichold, general director of the Erfurt "Herbert Warnke" Forming Equipment VEB; pp 497-500]

[Text] Performance Growth by CAD/CAM

At the present time, machine tool construction is involved in changes consequent mainly on science and technology. One outstanding feature of these changes is the integration of microelectronics and computer technology in the entire reproduction process. How does this development proceed in the Erfurt Forming Technology Combine? What are the conceptual bases for greater capacity and the suitability of the combine's products for exports? What experiences have been gained by the introduction of CAD/CAM systems?

[Summary of Article by Prof Dr Claus Kroemke, deputy department manager, SED Central Committee; pp 501-507]

[Text] Marx' "Das Kapital" - Theoretical Basis of Comprehensive Intensification

"Das Kapital" is one of the indispensable scientific bases of our party policy. Quite particularly it has become a manual for the management of our socialist economy. It is the theoretical starting point for issues now confronting us in relation to intensification, such as how we are to steadily raise the productive capacity of labor and further improve the efficiency of our means of production.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Werner Gilde, director, GDR Central Institute for Welding Technology; pp 508-511]

[Text] Confirmation and Challenge of Scientific Partnership

Fruitful scientific cooperation--what are the conditions that need to be created to obtain it, what are the demands we must make on ourselves so as to be respected and appreciated as partners, how do we need to organize successful cooperation? The welding equipment exhibit at the 1985 Leipzig Spring Fair--demonstrated by scientists from Kiev and Halle and much acclaimed internationally--once again demonstrated the Halle Central Institute's competence to supply answers to such questions from its 30 years of experience.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Klaus Muetze, director for science and technology, director, Research Center, Carl Zeiss Jena Combine VEB; pp 512-515]

[Text] On the Work with Tasking Workbooks

Using the experiences gained by the Carl Zeiss Combine, the author discusses the following issues: What are the objectives to be met by the tasking workbook in production and process development? How may we guarantee that the scientific-technical and economic parameters of the new products and processes fully respond to the demands of the national economy and the world market? What are the possibilities for further improving the efficacy of tasking workbooks?

[Summary of article by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; pp 516-530]

[Text] Tradition and Progress

The establishment of the "GDR National Research and Memorial Foundation for Twentieth Century German Art and Literature"--a logical step. The author describes art and literature in the

changing circumstances of this century and shows that the emergence and growth of the GDR was matched by remarkable artistic achievements. What are our attitudes to the variety and wealth of our century's artistic heritage, how do we proceed in working it over and making it our own, to what traditions are we drawing attention?

[Summary of article by Harry Tisch, Politburo member, Council of State member, FDGB chairman; pp 531-536]

[Text] All-round Strengthening of Our Republic - The Best Way to Represent Labor Union Interests]

The 40th anniversary of the FDGB's establishment is an occasion for paying tribute to the significant achievements of this, the largest class organization, for showing by many facts that its work for the all-round strengthening of our republic, the welfare of the people and the preservation of peace pursues the best traditions of the German trade union movement. The author directs attention to those key points that must be emphasized by the representatives of labor union interests in preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Benser, deputy department manager, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 536-542]

[Text] The KPD Central Committee Appeal of 11 June 1945 - A Signpost for A New Life

A few weeks after the end of World War II, the KPD submitted to the German people a realistic program of action for a new approach, linking the immediate vital issues to be settled with the implementation of the necessary and profound social changes for the creation of anti-imperialist and antifascist conditions. Later, these offered an opportunity for opening up the road to socialism. The program demonstrated its vitality in the period of the difficult beginning of 40 years of successful development in our country.

[Summary of article by Gen Friedrich Dickel, member of the SED Central Committee, Minister of the Interior and Chief of the People's Police; pp 543-548. A full translation of this article will be published in the JPRS Political and Sociological series]

[Text] The German People's Police: Dependable Guarantor of our Workers' and Peasants' Power

The establishment of the German People's Police meant the emergence of a police force which, for the first time in German history, represented the will and the interests of the working class and the entire working people. The author surveys its development from its initial establishment, its responsible work in the first years through the present. What are the qualitatively new and varied

duties of the German People's Police in the organization of the developed socialist society? On the intimate connection between the struggle for the greatest possible growth of performance with the further consolidation of socialist legality, order, discipline and security.

[Summary of Article by Prof Dr Werner Felix, general director of the GDR Johann Sebastian Bach Research and Memorial Foundation; pp 549-554]

[Text] The Beauty of our Musical Heritage

On the occasion of the 1985 celebration of Bach, Haendel and Schuetz in the GDR, the fundamental attitudes assumed by the conception of our cultural heritage as part of our socialist musical culture are described. In the process of revolutionary change since our people's liberation from Hitler fascism, a rich and vital relationship between the socialist society and this musical heritage, too, has evolved--a vision of a world of peace, justice and human dignity. This is at one and the same time an achievement and the precondition for familiarizing all working people with profound thought and beauty.

[Summary of article by Diploma Political Scientist Gerd Vehres, member of the political staff of the SED Central Committee; pp 555-559]

[Text] Thirteenth Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Congress: Creative Continuity and Combative Realism

The realistic analysis of achievements and the definition of the tasks for the second half of the 1980's, accomplished by the supreme forum of Hungarian Communists demonstrate the following: Backed by the socialist achievements recorded in the past 40 years, since the country's liberation from fascism, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party--the leading force of our Hungarian brothers--has set course on the speed-up of the country's economic and social development and is continuing its pursue of an activist peace policy.

[Summary of article by Peter Florin, member of the SED Central Committee, deputy GDR minister for Foreign Affairs; pp 560-565]

[Text] 40 Years United Nations Charter - The Role and Possibilities of the United Nations Organization

What are the principles and objectives characterizing the United Nations Charter? What are the factors deciding UN efficacy in international relations? The Soviet Union and the socialist states allied with it are resolutely championing the principles and

objectives of the UN charter. It is thanks to their many initiatives that the global issues of mankind are at the center of UN efforts. On the GDR's constructive contribution and the basic lines of its activities.

11698

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POLICY ON NUCLEAR WAR, SDI, PEACE DISCUSSED

East Berlin IPW BERICHTE in German Vol 14 No 5, May 85 pp 8-13

[Article by Dr Gerhard Hahn, president of the GDR League for the United Nations, director of the Institute for International Relations: "Safeguarding Peace--Primary Goal of GDR Foreign Policy"]

[Text] In international history there are events which have a deep impact on societal development and which represent milestones in the lives of peoples and nations. Friends and opponents of socialism agree that one such event is the Great Socialist October Revolution, which initiated a basic change of direction in the history of the world and in international relations. Of similar importance is the victory over Hitler's fascism in World War II. Forty years have gone by since this event, which has exerted significant influence on societal development after the most devastating war in Europe and beyond it.

The GDR Fulfills the Legacy of the Victims of Fascism

Even before victory was attained, important decisions were made for postwar developments. They were the result of the Crimea Conference of the major powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, which took place in February 1945 under the thrust of the Soviet offensive which then continued until the victory over Hitler fascism. In view of the impending victory, the military situation, including the steps necessary to bring about the unconditional capitulation of Hitler fascism in Europe and the destruction of the militarist powers of Japan, was one of the matters dealt with by J. V. Stalin, H. Truman and W. Churchill, representatives of the three major powers. Another main issue on the agenda was the policies to be used in dealing with postwar Germany and continued cooperation of the allies during the postwar period. Unified in the political desire to exterminate the fascist plague, the Yalta resolutions expressed unanimity in desiring to destroy German militarism and fascism and to take measures necessary to ensure that Germany would never again be in a position to disturb world peace.¹

If today aggressive imperialist forces demand "the overthrow of the spirit of Yalta" they intend to revise the results of the second world war; they ask for a political reversal of postwar development and its realities as they exist at present. Yalta was the logical outcome and the reply of the peoples in the anti-Hitler coalition to fascist crimes in Europe and throughout the world. But those who today oppose the Yalta resolutions are the same people who are in favor of confrontation and the arms race, i.e., in favor of imperialist politics which constitute an enormous danger to peace.

We can state with great satisfaction that the socialist and all other democratic parts of the German people have used the results of the Yalta Conference and those of the subsequent Potsdam Conference to satisfy their own demands for demilitarization, denazification and democratization.

In between the Crimea conference and the Potsdam Conference there fell that moment during the night of 8 May 1945 during which the victory over Hitler fascism was sealed with unconditional military surrender. The Soviet Union had the major share in this event of truly historical significance. It had accepted the major share of sacrifices. This fact is appropriately recognized in the declaration of the Central Committee of the SED, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR: "After the Great Socialist October Revolution, this victory constitutes the second act of liberation of worldwide historical impact accomplished by the Soviet people in our century. Its victory saved the civilization of the world from Fascist barbarism. It also liberated the German people from the yoke of Nazi oppression. It opened the way to the founding of the GDR. It forms the basis for four decades of peace in Europe."²

In view of the significant lessons to be learned from victory over fascism and the liberation of the German people, and in view of the fact that these lessons are most topical in today's international situation, the past 40 years do not separate us from the historic events of 1945--they bring us closer to them. The highest commandment is to fight against war before it can erupt; it tells us that it is not only necessary, but that it is possible to defend peace by uniting all forces of goodwill.

In the 40th anniversary declaration³ it is stated that "our republic was born to be the German nation of peace." With the creation of democratic conditions and with the embedding of political and socio-economic bases of socialism, the internal sources for wars and aggression dried up forever in the GDR. At the same time this cleared the way for a foreign policy which is based on entirely new principles. In its orientation and action it expresses the inseparable unity between socialism and peace and it reflects Marx's vision that with the working class's access to power "a new society is created, contrary to the old society with its economic misery and its political insanity, whose international principle will be peace, because each individual nation will be based on the same principle--work."⁴ This is proven also in the strategic orientation of the GDR's foreign policy, which is contained in the program of its leading political entity, the SED, according to which its content, aims and tasks consist of the following:

- to secure, together with the USSR and the other socialist states, the most favorable international conditions for socialist and communist development;
- to reinforce the unity, collaboration and general cooperation of the socialist states and to promote their friendship and further rapprochement;
- to support the struggle of the working class and its communist and workers' parties in capitalist countries and to further reinforce relationships with those parties;

- to provide support for social and national liberation movements worldwide and to work closely with nationally liberated states;
- to implement a policy of peaceful coexistence in relations with the capitalist countries;
- to stand firmly against imperialist aggression, to preserve humanity from a new world war and to safeguard the peace in times to come.⁵

Peace--the Fundamental Principle of our Socialist Foreign Policy

The fundamental principles of socialist foreign policy are closely tied to the constitution of the GDR: the principle of proletarian internationalism and the principle of peaceful coexistence. This is a constitutional reflection of the unity of socialism and peace. Article 6 makes the following national policy mandatory: "The GDR...conducts a foreign policy which is dedicated to socialism and peace, communication among the peoples and security."

In this manner firm guarantees were created in the GDR for fulfilling and strictly adhering to the resolutions of the anti-Hitler coalition contained in the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. The world may rest assured that no war will ever be initiated by this state. It is today an internationally recognized peace state, dedicated to the peaceful labor and creative work of its citizens.

Part of the GDR's use of the lessons learned on 8 May 1945 is its joint action in fraternal alliance with the most powerful force for societal progress and peace, the USSR, from which it receives new impulses for internationalist action.

The socialist GDR occupies a firm place in the community of socialist states. As part of the fraternal alliance of socialist countries it fulfills its obligations to the alliance, develops its economic, scientific and technological, political and military relationships with the USSR and the other fraternal countries. It is a member of the existing international socialist organization, CEMA, and the Warsaw Pact. Concomitantly, it makes an effective political, economic and military contribution to the defense of peace and socialism. This position of the GDR in the community of socialist states is immovable.

Within its peace-loving foreign policy the republic is cognizant of the fact that its territory borders on the line of demarcation between the biggest military alliances in Central Europe and that at the same time it borders on a state whose social principles are diametrically opposed to the GDR's socialist conditions. It is faced with the fact that the politics of the FRG are in continuous conflict with the lessons and obligations which derive from the realities of postwar developments. The GDR has used them since its founding to maintain its responsibility of placing maximum emphasis on working for peace and on taking an active part in working for peace and international security in the international arena. The GDR considers it its greatest obligation to do its utmost to prevent war from ever again emanating from German soil. This commandment, which was imposed upon the German people and all those responsible for policymaking as a result of the victory of Hitler

fascism, is in the interest of all German people; all Europeans and the people of the whole world. This is the basic reason why already in the 1950's the GDR decisively opposed the remilitarization of West Germany, the occurrence of revanchism and militant anti-communism and related political activities which became the most dangerous expression of resuscitating a policy which coldly ignores the interest of European populations.

On the basis of the principal orientation of its foreign policy, the GDR strongly advocated the rejection of all forms of the cold war triggered by imperialism, which led to an escalation of the arms race and growing suspicion among peoples and states. The GDR's efforts were strongly directed as early as the 1950's toward promoting detente, the development of peaceful cooperation among all peoples. The GDR made an active contribution to the founding of the European Contract Agency, to the quadrilateral agreement on West Berlin and to formulating the Helsinki Accords. The GDR's main concern has always been to participate in the life-preserving task of finding an end to the arms race and the transition to effective measures of arms limitation and, eventually, of disarmament. These efforts gained all the more importance in the GDR's foreign policy since at the beginning of the 1980's it became increasingly obvious that a new escalation in the arms race was about to be forced upon the socialist countries--this time with the openly admitted goal of permanently changing the military strategic balance in favor of the United States and NATO. In view of this new situation the socialist states individually and collectively warned against the dire consequences which would follow the arming and confrontation course and increased their efforts to reduce the threats to peace.

Avoiding a Nuclear Inferno--A Key Question of World Politics

In the Political Declaration issued at its Prague Meeting of 4-5 January 1983, the Warsaw Pact member states indicated to the governments and the international public their opinions concerning the necessary and possible measures to secure world peace, for detente in the international situation and for equitable, constructive and mutually advantageous cooperation. This declaration, in which the GDR participated constructively with its suggestions, represents a political platform for concrete and resourceful activity in the interest of solving the key problem of international politics. In it, the states of the Warsaw Pact submit a complex of realistic proposals which do not require unilateral concession on the part of anybody. They are characterized by the equality of states, are based on the principle of guaranteeing mutual security and aim at the relaxation of tensions in Europe and the world as a whole. Proposals are made for renunciation of power, to be agreed upon, for stopping nuclear arming, for reducing medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, for limiting a variety of arms and their deployment and for reducing defense budgets. Finally, the declaration emphasizes that there is only one method for solving questions of decisive importance for human survival, a political dialogue, the development of political contacts and the highest and intermediate levels, serious and constructive negotiations aiming toward the signing of mutually acceptable agreements.

Individually and collectively, the policymakers of the socialist states have reiterated the ideas of the Prague Political Declaration many times and have expanded it with new proposals. They resolutely announced their commitment to prevent the new dimensions of the arms race and the concomitant dangers. However, rather than picking up their constructive ideas for detente and for the eventual recovery of the international situation, the most aggressive forces of the United States and NATO failed to react, so as to be able in the meantime to pursue their extensive planning for arming and confrontation and even to extend them into outer space.

In the early 1980's, the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe developed into a key problem. The GDR supported the basic USSR position in the approach to these negotiations, i.e., to create a Europe free of nuclear medium-range weapons as well as of tactical nuclear weapons. However, disregarding the USSR's flexible proposals, the United States engaged in negotiating tactics designed to gain time for stationing new U.S. nuclear medium-range weapons in several countries of Western Europe, among them in the FRG. Thus began the stationing of new U.S. medium-range weapons, overriding the desires of the majority of the population of Western Europe, but agreed to by the aggressive forces of several NATO states; thus the negotiations initiated in Geneva lost their practical purpose. With the deployment of the new weapon systems the territory of the FRG became a launch area for U.S. first-strike weapons which are directly aimed at the USSR and which represent a serious threat to overall international security.

The Seventh Conference of the SED Central Committee considered this situation to be extremely serious. It described the challenge which has now been issued to our socialist community with its main force, the USSR, and to the millions of people who in the Western world are opposed to nuclear warfare strategy and against the United States' efforts to gain world dominance. Their joint efforts in the struggle for peace will in the future constitute the decisive force which will prevent humanity's sliding into a nuclear war.⁶ In view of the heavy stress imposed upon the peoples of the world by U.S. and NATO actions which destabilize international security, the Conference emphasized its firm conviction that the situation still remains reversible if all forces of reason and realism work together.

To prevent a one-sided change of the military balance of power, the GDR participated in the common task of strengthening the defense readiness of the socialist countries and supported the USSR in implementing the unavoidable countermeasures on GDR and CSSR territory. Notice is thereby served on the partisans of imperialist arms escalation and confrontation policy that a reversal of military-strategic balance, military superiority of imperialism, will not be permitted. Commenting on this situation, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council, said: "It remains the primary goal of the GDR's foreign and security policy to contribute to the prevention of a nuclear inferno and to securing peace on earth. There continues to be no reasonable alternative to a policy of peaceful coexistence among states of differing social orders. It is now more important than ever before to mobilize the forces for implementing this policy.

The worldwide peace movement is urged to increase its activities.⁷ To re-double the effort in the struggle for prevention of a nuclear catastrophe--that remained the orientation on which the GDR's international efforts are still based in the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people.

For a Coalition of Reason and Realism

The Central Committee of the SED and the government of the GDR have initiated extensive international activities for the purpose of obtaining notice and wide support for the position of the GDR and the joint proposals of the USSR and the other socialist states concerning the most urgent problems of these times. Even before the decision was made to station the new intermediate-range weapons in the FRG, the leadership of the GDR, mindful of the lessons of history and the geostrategic situation, took the initiative to try to prevent the deployment of cruise missiles and Pershing IIs from significantly weakening European security and from additionally threatening the peace in this region. The FRG policy makers were repeatedly advised that "at the moment nothing is more important than to secure the peace and that the two German states have a particular responsibility of which nobody can relieve them."⁸ Also, that this situation requires appropriate political action.

The chancellor of the FRG repeatedly acknowledged the special responsibility of the two German states to make sure that no war would ever again originate on German soil. However, the government of the FRG disregarded the pertinent concrete proposals made not only by socialist states; with its agreement for the deployment of U.S. medium-range weapons it took a position contrary to the interests of its own people and thus contributed to the resulting additional threat to peace in Europe.

But even under these conditions the GDR continued its intensive efforts to let reason and realism prevail and to prohibit further deployment.

Meetings during the last few years with political representatives of other European and non-European countries, with the Secretary General of the UN and with representatives of a great variety of parties and societies, meetings which continue during this anniversary year of the victory over Hitler fascism, also continue to be devoted to the basic interest not only of the people of the GDR, but to those of all peoples of preventing a nuclear catastrophe and to facilitate the stabilization of worldwide peace.

The initiation of deploying U.S. medium-range weapons in several West European countries was neither able to destroy the approximate military strategic balance, nor did it place the participating imperialist powers into the position of blackmailing socialism. On the contrary, it demonstrated that the imperialist power concept does not have a chance to attain the lofty goals of its creators. Nor will any other result be obtained by announcing future measures to escalate the qualitative arms race, especially the one involving outer space. The "Strategic Defense Initiative," loudly proclaimed by the President of the United States, just barely conceals the true objective of taking another approach to establish world domination in a new environment: space. In this manner, the threat to world peace is extended even further.

Against Militarizing Space

The GDR, along with the other Warsaw Pact states and many realistically thinking circles all over the world, is of the opinion that militarization of space must be prevented. It welcomes the agreement made in January 1985 which has led to the actual start of negotiations between the USSR and the United States.

The new negotiations, which concern the entire subject area dealing with space and nuclear weapons of strategic and medium range, must have the objective of working out agreements directed toward preventing an arms race in space and eliminating it on earth; toward limiting and reducing nuclear armaments and toward stabilizing the strategic balance. This would enable them particularly to make a significant contribution to relax the severe threats of nuclear warfare and to an improvement of the international atmosphere.

However, in the imperialist camp there are considerable forces which want to do everything possible to thwart such expectations. Against these visible strong efforts on the part of influential imperialist circles, especially those within the U.S. administration itself, which are clearly directed toward dissolving the mutual interdependence of the three subjects of the negotiations, the USSR interposes a decisive and constructive position characterized by Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko as follows: "The USSR is prepared to deal not only with the problem of strategic arms; it would be ready also to reduce them drastically. Obviously, this would have to be done according to the principle of equality and equal security. On the other hand, it would make little sense to talk about the possibility of reducing strategic weapons if there is no progress in matters affecting space."⁹ Along with all other Warsaw Pact states, the GDR supports this position which once again demonstrates the continued basic line of USSR foreign policy on the key issue of present international politics: to be ready for any progress affecting arms limitation and disarmament which complies with the principles of equal security for both sides.

The GDR's foreign policy, oriented toward safeguarding the peace, not only promotes the solution to this main issue of present-day world politics, but also any other initiatives which adhere to the same principle, dealing with arms limitation, disarmament, policies of mutual trust and security. The GDR's positive reaction to the Swedish government's proposal to create a zone free from nuclear battlefield weapons is well known; the zone would extend from Central Europe to the northernmost and southernmost flanks of the two alliances. The GDR did not only welcome this proposal; it declared its readiness to make its entire territory available for such a zone, as long as the principle of equality and equal security were observed.

However, the FRG declined to follow the example of the GDR and thus to take a concrete step towards enhancing European security. On the contrary, it agreed to the deployment of the U.S. medium-range missiles and thus dismissed the opportunity for noticeably reducing military confrontation on an important sector of the line of demarcation of the two military alliances.

Dedicated to the Principle of Peaceful Coexistence

The GDR is taking extraordinary care in furthering the promotion of cooperation among nations according to the principles of peaceful coexistence. It considers the growing appreciation for these principles by the international community of nations, which had its first and greatest impulse with the acceptance of the UN Charter 40 years ago, as a most important step toward a true democratization of international relationships. As a participating state in the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe, the GDR contributed to the formulation of its final proclamation, in which the principles of peaceful coexistence for international cooperation were further defined. It contributed also to the results of the Belgrade and Madrid Conferences of the CSCE states, and it participates actively in the current Stockholm conference on measures generating trust and security, and disarmament. In this area too the GDR is making maximum efforts to contribute to safeguarding peace.

In its policies vis a vis the FRG, the GDR justifiably assumes that a great deal depends upon the relationship between the two German states for peace and security even beyond Europe.

The European treaty system which was arrived at through long negotiations and which includes the basic agreement concerning the relations between the GDR and FRG, constitutes an important basis for the mutual relationships between the socialist states and the FRG. The interests of the peoples of Europe and the entire world, the existing international legal obligations dating from World War II, the international treaties concluded with the socialist countries, not to mention reason and necessary realism in considering the present situation, exclude those who are forever living in the past, who refuse to accept the recognition and inviolability of existing borders and who demand their revision. Nevertheless the safeguarding of the inviolability of the post-World-War II borders remains a major task, in fact, the crux of European security. The GDR feels a special obligation toward this task.

If the revanchist forces in the FRG expect that the commitment of the present FRG government to the arms race, to the confrontation policy of the United States and to NATO (as expressed in their readiness for stationing new U.S. intermediate-range weapons and the promise of cooperation with U.S. plans for militarizing space) will provide them with new opportunities for their dangerous activities, they will experience ironclad resistance not only from the GDR, but from all the socialist states. Beyond that, they are opposed by almost the entire European population.

There is nothing more to be said about the "German question." History has had the last word about it. The "Continued existence of the German Reich inside its 1937 borders" is fictitious and runs counter to the realities of the political situation. It is high time that all those who confuse their revanchist desires with existing realities take a sober look at the situation.

Implementation of Peace Policies Within the UN Framework

Ever since the GDR became a member of the UN on 18 September 1973 it has been implementing the principles of its peace policy within that framework also. Speaking for the GDR's Council of Ministers, its chairman, Willi Stoph, solemnly declared the GDR's readiness "to assume the duties inherent in the UN Charter and to fulfill them conscientiously."¹⁰

The UN was organized by the cooperation of the anti-Hitler coalition powers and it became a reality upon their victory over Hitler fascism. Its founding in 1945 was the inevitable consequence of the historic experience that the attempt of building an effective international security organization had failed.

It took military confrontation with the most reactionary imperialist power system, fascism, to create a coalition which faced up to what had until then been the gravest threat to humanity. With the increasing success of the anti-Hitler coalition it became clear that cooperation among peoples and states in the face of great danger must be secured not only in wartime, but also during peace.

The USSR which made the greatest contribution to the destruction of the fascist aggressor and which made the greatest sacrifices for this factory, had always been in favor of a strong international security organization--even before World War II. Due to its significant contribution, against all opposition resulting from societal differences among participating states and their politics, the objectives of the UN organization were characterized by the resolution of the peoples to protect future generations from the scourge of war. Peace and the safeguarding of international security--this remains the political credo of the UN, and its mission is as topical as ever.

The politics of the GDR, since its inception, have been characterized by internationalist actions which are in accordance with the goals of the UN. As a UN member state, the GDR proceeds on this same basis. The subject matter includes, for all practical purposes, the entire spectrum of problems dealt with by the UN system. As a socialist country, the GDR develops a creative and constructive policy in cooperating with the other member states. The emphasis of its activities lies in problems of preserving world peace, i.e., international security, arms limitation and disarmament, political solutions for existing conflicts, a further democratization of international relationships and also the social problems the solution to which is on the agenda of the organization of states.

Within the framework of the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist states the GDR energetically works for the prevention of a nuclear war and urges the non-use of nuclear weapons and the formulation of a convention for prohibition of their use. At this moment the highest priority goes to activities designed to prevent an arms race in space. The GDR is firmly committed to the position that militarization of space must be prevented and that space must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. Beyond that the GDR is making proposals that existing nuclear arms inventories be frozen and that nuclear disarmament be pursued since by eliminating nuclear weapons a nuclear war could finally be prevented. With the same intention the GDR is emphasizing the necessity for immediate negotiations leading to a treaty prohibiting all nuclear weapons

testing; it promotes non-proliferation and the exclusively peaceful use of nuclear energy. Our state has originated its own initiatives for a prohibition of chemical weapons and other means of mass destruction.

There is in fact no major problem in international relations in which the GDR does not take a constructive position within the UN and its agencies. During the 39th UN General Assembly alone, it submitted nine resolution initiatives and coauthored 44 others. The GDR was among those states which strongly promoted the "Declaration of the Peoples' Right to Peace" and contributed to its acceptance by the members of the UN. It was involved particularly in the debate about the passage of a resolution demanding a greater struggle against fascism and neo-fascism and which specifically honors the dates of May 8 and May 9 as the days of victory over Nazism and fascism in World War II.

When on occasion bourgeois circles reproach the UN and its member states that by passing resolutions they cannot change facts and that this would be but one reason for a low estimate of the worth of the UN, the GDR joins the socialist and many other countries in demonstrating the great effectiveness which the UN could attain if it were primarily seen and employed as a democratic institution of true cooperation for safeguarding the peaceful coexistence of peoples. In addition it is an important fact that in this universal political organization of equals, an opinion-forming process has been taking place since its founding concerning the major problems on the international situation. This process is helpful in separating those who support a policy of threatening world peace and destabilizing international security, who are against international cooperation among coequals and who create obstacles to the solution of urgent problems, from those who energetically work for the implementation of the objectives of the UN laid down in its Charter under today's complicated conditions.

Thus the GDR, through its creative and constructive policies within the UN system, contributes to the development of the necessary coalition of reason and realism. In doing so it applies the lessons to be learned from the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people. It fully supports the declaration of the COMECON states of June 1984, which defines the principal position of the socialist states vis a vis the UN as follows: "The participants of the conference emphasize the necessity for enhancing the role of the UN Organization and the organization of its system as an important forum for joint efforts by the states to reinforce peace and international security, to promote the solution of current world problems."¹¹

Prominent among the reasons why the GDR and its peaceful foreign policy enjoy international esteem is the fact that in the UN it takes principled positions on the basic problems of our times. This establishes the GDR as a peaceful socialist state which, openly and jointly with the other peace-loving states, searches for common interests and their harmony in action.

Today the GDR is seen as a state which has decisively destroyed the roots of militarism and fascism, which firmly struggles against all forms of revanchism and neo-fascism. Its citizens are justified in concluding, 40 years after the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people, that on their territory the lessons of history have been heeded. They are ever conscious of the fact that the commitment to those lessons must be a continuing process of effective action. This is the spirit in which the German Democratic Republic plans and implements its program of action for a secure peace in the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Report on the Crimea Conference in: International Law Documents, Part 1, Berlin 1973, p 119 et seq
2. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 11 January 1985
3. Ibid
4. K. Marx, First Address of the General Council on the German-French War, in; Marx/Engels, Collected Works, Vol 17, Berlin 1962, p 7
5. Program of the SED, Berlin 1976, p 83
6. E. Honecker, In times of struggle we successfully continue on the proven course of the Tenth Party Conference for Peace and Socialism, Berlin 1983
7. Ibid, p 16
8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 3 May 1985
9. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 January 1985
10. Declaration of Commitment of the GDR Ministerial Council of 12 June 1973, in: The German Democratic Republic--10 Years' Membership in the United Nations, Dresden 1983, p 89
11. Declaration of the CEMA Member Countries: "Safeguarding Peace and International Economic Cooperation," Berlin 1984, p 14

9273
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW NAVAL CRUISE MISSILE DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 5, May 85 p 290

[Article by 'r/c': "New Cruise Missile of the GDR People's Navy - Successor to the Coastal Defense Missiles SAMLET and SALISH"]

[Text] A previously unknown cruise missile system was one of the special features of the National People's Army parade marking the 35th anniversary of the GDR in East Berlin in early October 1984 (see issue 11/84, p 636). Mobile missile systems for use against enemy surface naval vessels off friendly shores were developed by the Soviet Union already in the early 1960's and issued to coast artillery units of Soviet naval forces, which were then renamed coastal missile artillery troops. The smaller of these systems, called SSC-2b/SAMLET and SSC-2a/SALISH in the West, were also delivered to the GDR People's Navy, the Polish Naval Warfare Fleet, and the naval forces of Cuba, while the longer-range system SSC-1b/SEPAL (see issue 1/84, p 38) was issued only to Soviet coastal missile artillery units.

The very similar cruise missiles SAMLET and SALISH, which are variants of the air-to-surface missile AS-1/KENNEL, were transported on flatbed semitrailers and launched from a fully traversable ramp (Photo 1). The launch was carried out with the help of a booster, which was jettisoned after burnout. The propulsion during the cruise phase was provided by a ramjet engine. The missiles were circa 8.20 m long, their wingspan was circa 4.80 m, and their maximum diameter was circa 1.20 m. They have allegedly developed a maximum cruising speed of 1200 km/h and had a range of circa 200 km. The weapons system now shown by the People's Navy is mounted on a modified 8-wheeled vehicle of type MAZ-543, i.e. on the heavy loads transporter already being used as a carrier vehicle for the SSM systems SCUD B and SCALEBOARD. Behind the driver's cab typical of the MAZ-543, two discrete box body superstructures have been installed, of which the front one accommodates the fire control center and the longer rear one the missile launch equipment (Photo 2). It can be assumed that the rear box body--similar to the launch container of the SSC-1b/SEPAL (Photo 3)--can be hydraulically raised and that the roof can be opened to expose the missile. Atop the driver's cab in front of the fire control center, a hinged [swung out] radar reflector can be seen.

This radar probably serves for target acquisition and for the determination of correctional data for the cruise missile during the initial radio

command-guided phase. For the final phase of its flight, the missile--so GDR reports imply--is equipped with a self-guiding target homing head. These same sources speak of a flight altitude between 5 and 100 m.

In addition to the transport and launch vehicle for the new cruise missile system, two transport vehicles for reserve missiles were also seen at the parade in East Berlin. The vehicles, most likely gl (6 X 6) trucks of type KRAZ-255B, each carried two of the new cruise missiles. It is assumed that these are of the same SS-N-2C type with which, for example, the Soviet missile corvettes of the TARANTUL class, the high-speed patrol boats of the MATKA class, and destroyers of the KASHIN-MOD class, are also equipped, i.e. that they were developed from the ship-to-ship missile SS-N-2a/b/STYX. According to reports received to date, one coastal missile artillery regiment equipped with the new cruise missiles is already assigned to the GDR People's Navy.

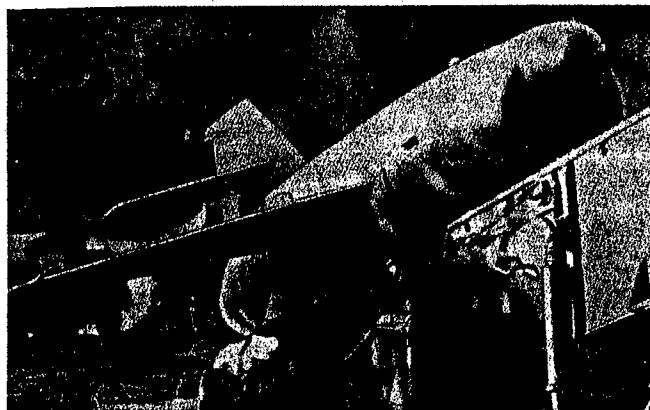


Bild 1: Küstenverteidigungs-FK SSC-2b/SAMLET der NVA auf der Startrampe.

Photo 1: Coastal defense missile SSC-2b/SAMLET of the National People's Army on the launch ramp

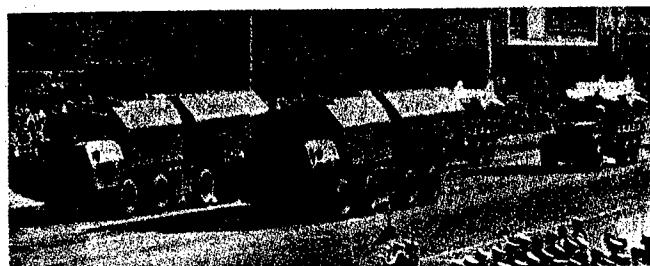


Bild 2: Neues Marschflugkörpersystem der NVA-Volksmarine bei der Parade in Ost-Berlin.

Photo 2: New cruise missile system of the GDR People's Navy in the parade in East Berlin



Bild 3: Abschuß eines SEPAL-Marschflugkörpers.

Photo 3: Launch of a SEPAL cruise missile

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ROLE REDEFINED

Swiss Newspaper Comments

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 14-15 Jul 85 p 4

[Article signed "sk." datelined Berlin 12 Jul 85: "Local Government Policies Tightened up in the GDR"]

[Text] The SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in a detailed commentary on Friday underscored the importance of a new law on the local representative bodies, which was approved by the GDR People's Chamber last week. The law, which newly regulates the tasks, duties and rights of the local representations of the SED regime in the 7500 cities, municipalities, kreises and bezirks, according to the commentary of the SED paper, is supposed to increasingly pave the way for a grassroots and performance-oriented policy in the GDR. However, a loosening of the tightly centralistically organized structure of the state in the political and economic sphere is unlikely to be intended with the new law. It is more likely that the contrary is the case.

Implementation of State Educational Policy on Local Level

The NEUES DEUTSCHLAND commentary stresses that the "creative implementation full of initiative" of the law will contribute to improving fulfillment of state tasks in close connection with the solution of municipal problems. The commentary states that the law was so set up that it serves the further strengthening of the socialist state power and combines central state management and planning even more effectively with the local initiatives.

The statements by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Stoph before the People's Chamber in defense of the law indicate that the local representations are to be increasingly encouraged towards ideological and economic tightening-up of their work. The latter should direct their special attention at the communist education of the young generation. They are responsible, in "close coordination: with school and family, with the "social forces"--especially the FDJ--and with enterprises and cooperatives for the implementation of the state educational policy in their fields, Stoph declared before the People's Chamber.

Strengthening of the State

In this connection he pointed out the necessity for initiatives in various areas of the economy. The demands for greater willingness to exert efforts and economical handling of raw materials as well as increased rationalization and modernization of the GDR economy takes up a lot of space in Stoph's speech before the People's Chamber. Broad attention is also devoted to this concern in the newspaper commentary. The factors mentioned here include the necessity of accelerating scientific-technical progress, increase in labor productivity, improvement in energy and material economizing and consumer goods production.

It is said that in the new law the responsibility of the local organs for planning, management and organization of the "territorial rationalization" is laid down. It emerges from the commentary in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND that the new law on the local representative bodies is to counteract especially on the lower level the inefficiency, the poor work ethic and the waste of material in numerous GDR enterprises. Apparently the local organs are being required to achieve discipline and more vigorous action in the areas of the public sector of the economy and at the same time are asked to be less bureaucratic and authoritarian in dealing with the citizens. However, at the same time it is unequivocally pointed out that in the "further perfecting of the socialist democracy" strengthening of the state constitutes the "decisive starting point" of the new law on the local representative bodies.

Party Organ Interprets Law

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jul 82 p 2

[Editorial article: "Local Government Policies--Side by Side With the Citizens and Performance-oriented: On the New Law for Local Representative Bodies"]

[Text] The new law on the local representative bodies adopted by the People's Chamber regulates the tasks, rights and duties of the organs of state power by which the citizens in the 7500 cities and communities, in the kreises and bezirks of the GDR exercise their political power. The outstanding importance of the document in the GDR legal code emerges from this fact.

The new law had been suggested by the Tenth SED Congress in 1981. During the deliberation of the draft law in the State Council, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, emphasized that an important step is being taken with the law based on the tested experiences of grassroots and performance-oriented work of the local representative bodies to perfect socialist democracy. This will remain the principal direction of development of the worker-and-peasant state in the future, too. The creative implementation full of initiative of the new law should and will contribute toward making even better progress in the fulfillment of the national tasks in close connection with the solution of local government concerns.

The now available new version of the law takes into account the comprehensive changes and defines the growing responsibility of the local representative bodies in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Preparation of the law is a significant contribution to the preparation for the 11th SED Congress.

Together with the economic strength of our state, with the perfecting of the socialist production conditions, especially the formation of combines, the democratic participation of the working people in management and planning in the enterprises and cooperatives as well as in the solution of the local government tasks has developed and continues to develop. In this connection, constantly new possibilities for the action of the local state organs emerge. This is demonstrated especially impressively in the important contributions made by the representative bodies jointly with citizens of all classes and strata in the implementation of the principal task in its unity of economic and social policy. In this great joint work national and local tasks are tackled and solved in their context.

These fundamental experiences were included in the new law in agreement with the SED program and the GDR constitution. It was so arranged that it serves the further strengthening of the socialist state power and combines central state management and planning even more effectively with local initiative. Accordingly the first chapter of the eight-chapter law states that it is the concern of the representative bodies, jointly with all forces of the people, to achieve all-around strengthening of the GDR. What is important is to prevail with comprehensive intensification in the respective local area of responsibility in implementing the economic strategy.

In the first place, the responsibility of the local state organs for management, planning and organization of territorial rationalization is fundamentally settled. Here, too, the law is based on experiences gathered in past years. The joint work according to plan among state organs, enterprises and institutions for the purposes of the comprehensive intensification are centered on the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, increase in labor productivity, improvement of energy and material economizing, effective utilization of basic assets and of the social working capacity, consumer goods production, and improvement of the working and living conditions. The law emphasizes here the cooperation with the labor unions. The most important legal tasks of the local representative bodies include support of the LPGs and of the VEGs and deepening of the cooperative relations. Intensification is also a key problem in agriculture.

With a socialist local government policy close to life care must be taken, the law states, that the material and cultural needs of the citizens are increasingly better satisfied and their wellbeing is being promoted in beautiful and well-cared-for cities and municipalities. It is a broad field of local government activity that is addressed here. In this connection the housing

program, which is to be achieved in its unity of new construction, reconstruction, modernization and maintenance, occupies top position. At present we see how construction constantly increases in the inner cities. This necessitates informing the citizens early and to stimulate their participation. Especially with regard to maintenance of the apartments, which at M 220 billion constitute a significant part of the national wealth, citizens can do much themselves in a "join-in" initiative.

Trade and supply, crafts and industry, health and social care, public education, and intellectual-cultural life, implementation of state youth policy in close coordination with the FDJ--all that and much more is part of the fields of responsibility of the local representative bodies.

With the law, conditions are created in the budget and financial matters to be able to achieve the higher tasks. After all, the volume of the local budgets in the current fiscal year amounts to a total of M 44.5 billion; that is twice as much as in 1973. Thus all expenditures for the housing program--this year M 13.2 billion--nearly all expenditures for public education and about three-fourths of those for public health and social services and for culture are planned in local budgets. It is important to utilize the funds obtained by the working people with maximum effect.

Even though tasks and responsibilities have only been outlined here, the high demands to be fulfilled become clear nonetheless. Therefore the law creates more favorable conditions for the local representative bodies to act as working corporate bodies. Thus, as stipulated in the second chapter, the decision-making competence of the representative bodies has been expanded and the position of their permanent and temporary commissions strengthened. For example, in the future they are empowered to make recommendations to members of the council, heads of enterprises, institutions and cooperatives, and to demand information on the evaluation of the recommendations within two weeks.

In the third chapter, regulations have been made to enhance the authority of the deputies and the effectiveness of their work. Thus there are regulations to connect them more closely with their work collectives, the citizens in the election district and the committees of the National Front. Plant managers, parties, organizations and National Front have the right to honor meritorious deputies.

The law pays special attention to the mayors on whose initiative and ties with the citizens the solution of local tasks and thus the prosperity of the cities and municipalities largely depend. In this connection it is important that in many thousand sections of cities and municipalities council members can be appointed honorary deputy mayors.

The specific tasks, rights and duties of the local representative bodies are specified on the various state levels and other and concluding regulations are set down, e.g., that the new law takes effect on 1 September and replaces the law valid until then.

Every state activity is first of all action for the citizens and with the citizens. Therefore the further perfecting of socialist democracy as main direction of the strengthening of the state is the decisive starting point of the new law. It is based on the great political strength of the 206,000 deputies, the 62,000 successor candidates, the nearly 140,000 citizens who have been appointed to permanent commissions and the growing cooperation of the citizens. Strong and effective political organs of power are a fundamental condition to meet the requirements of the new stage of the economic strategy. The new long-term legal orientation provides all conditions for the representative bodies for a grassroots and performance-oriented local policy, for the best possible contribution to the solution of the main task, which, as Erich Honecker stated at the Tenth Central Committee Plenum, will determine our work in the long run.

12356
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POLICE POWERS, DUTIES, BACKGROUND DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 6, Jun 85 (signed to press 13 May 85)
pp 543-548

[Article by Gen Friedrich Dickel, member of the SED Central Committee, Minister of the Interior and Chief of the People's Police: "The German People's Police: Dependable Guarantor of our Workers' and Peasants' Power"]

[Text] A few weeks after the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and of the German people's liberation, we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the German People's Police. The brief space between these two dates is not accidental. The socialist occupation power, represented by the SMAD [Soviet Military Administration in Germany], consistently conformed to those Allied agreements of Yalta and Potsdam, which--after the military victory over Hitler fascism--provided for the final destruction of the fascist state and power apparatus. This accorded totally with the notions of the revolutionary party of the German working class. Complete eradication of the roots of fascism, no return to Weimar--as stated in the KPD appeal of 11 June 1945--also required us to never again permit the police to be dominated by reaction and used against progress. The police of fascist German imperialism had to be replaced by a new, antifascist and democratic police force which is a reliable executor of the wishes of the working class and all working people, created for its protection.

German fascist imperialism had led the German people to the verge of ruin. Cities and villages were laid waste. The economy was destroyed. The road to a new social beginning needed to be approached from chaos, while a majority of the people were still in the grip of resignation and hopelessness. In these hard albeit crucial days, one of the most imperative needs was that of restoring calm, order and safety, conducting a resolute struggle against such legacies of the fascist rule of violence as banditry and crimes of every description. In this concrete historic situation, a police force emerged for the first time in German history, which championed the wishes and interests of the working class and quickly earned the distinction of being called "people's police."

The People's Police

We have had it confirmed a thousand times over: The People's Police is flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the working class and firmly rooted in it. It helps organize the uniform revolutionary process which has been proceeding here from 8 May 1945 to this day. On the occasion of the German People's Police 20th anniversary, Comrade Erich Honecker wrote: "The party was aware that the accomplishment of this assignment crucially depended on the political reliability of all members of the newly created police force. That is why it entrusted the construction to comrades who had been tested in the struggle for the liberation of the working class, the struggle against fascism and war. From the first day on, the party safeguarded their leading role in the police organs and took care to train all their members to be class conscious and steadfast fighters, loyally devoted to the party and the people."(1)

That has been and continues to be the outstanding source of the power and strength of the People's Police, the guarantor of its purposeful operations for the welfare of the people and for peace.

Authorized by the Soviet headquarters and helped by their active support, proven antifascists--in particular communists--began to build up this popular police force as the sole initial protective and security organ of the democratic state power. It earned the growing trust of the working people in the struggle against the residues of fascism, in making secure the democratic land reform, in the protection of the people's property emerging from the dispossession of Nazis and war criminals and in the fight against profiteers and speculators. People's Police members lent a hand when farm buildings needed to be erected for new farmers, when "Max" needed water, or people and cattle needed to be saved from the floods in the Oder Plain. This behavior and these services quickly earned them the affection and respect of the people.

It is almost impossible to overestimate this result when we recall the hatred formerly felt by the people for any German police force. The spiked Wilhelminian helmet was a symbol of contempt for the working people, in particular of the lack of consideration for the proletariat in cities and villages. The fascist police was the tool of a gang of murderers, the most reactionary and aggressive circles of German imperialism. Now we had a new police force, led from the beginning by those who had gained their "police" experience precisely in the class war against the former police force. Their revolutionary experiences, their burning hatred of the exploiters and fascists, enabled them to discharge all their tasks despite initially inadequate equipment and lacking technical expertise.

At the time, our enemies hoped that our young police force would not be able to manage without the old police specialists. They were badly mistaken. Lenin once wrote: We own "a 'miraculous resource' to at once make our state apparatus grow tenfold, a resource never enjoyed nor to be ever enjoyed by a single capitalist state. This miraculous resource is the involvement of the working people, the involvement of the...population in the daily work of running the state."(2)

The young People's Police learned from the experiences of the Soviet militia. At the same time it was able to rely on the counsel and active help of its Soviet class comrades in the uniform of the victorious Soviet Army. This gave rise to an alliance of friendship that has stood the test of time as a significant source of strength for the German People's Police and enabled it to accomplish its class assignment.

The establishment of the GDR opened a new chapter in the development of the People's Police. It was now a centrally organized protective and security organ of the workers' and farmers' power, and its class assignment consisted in at all times and in all circumstances guaranteeing the appropriate and high standard of public order and security so as to strengthen and protect the achievements of our society. It was imperative to secure the construction of the economic basis of socialism and the socialist transformation of farming against subversive attacks by external and internal enemies. Backed by the trust of the majority of GDR citizens, in close cooperation with the other defense and security organs of our state and in common action with the Soviet comrades-at-arms, the German People's Police demonstrated its reliability and power in the destruction of the counterrevolutionary coup attempt of 17 June 1953. Ideologically steadfast, combat ready and vigilant, sergeants and officers contributed to the victory of socialist production conditions and the preservation of peace. They were at all times ready to devote their hearts and minds, their strength and even their lives to that cause.

The historically significant Eighth SED Congress resolutions confronted the German People's Police with qualitatively new challenges and tasks. In conformity with our party's strategy on the organization of the developed socialist society in the GDR, its role as a co-organizer of society was further enhanced, the efficacy and efficiency of its work improved as well as the benefits and driving forces of socialism more extensively emphasized for the guarantee of order, discipline and security. The members of the DVP [German People's Police] accept the growing demands arising from the main task in its unity of economic and social policy and, in view of the confrontational and overarmament course of the most reactionary U.S. and NATO circles, increase their fighting strength and combat readiness.

The people's policemen of the first hour have by now passed on the baton to their sons and grandsons who are demonstrating that they are worthy of their fathers. We may note with the utmost satisfaction that the present generation of the People's Police discharges its class assignment in just the same way, conscious of its responsibility, passionately and ready for any sacrifice.

The Protection of the Workers' and Peasants' Power Is the Most Important Consideration

It is one of the basic experiences of the DVP's 40 years of history that, in the conditions of merciless class war with imperialism, the power of the working class and the people as a whole represents the most important prerequisite for our successes. To protect it reliably was and continues to be the task and supreme duty of any member of the People's Police. After all, we owe to the workers' and peasants' power, led by the party, everything we

now are, everything we have worked for and created. Based on it is the affection and appreciation of our friends, and, similarly, directed against this popular power is the hatred of the class enemy because, for the first time in the history of a German state, it guarantees that the interests of the people, its wish and will for peace actually represent the official doctrine.

Given the nuclear threat posed by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially in view of the Reagan Administration's dangerous star war plans, nothing is more important at the present time than the preservation of peace. After all, the survival of mankind is at stake here. The new USSR-U.S.A negotiations, initiated by the Soviet Union and involving the total complex of nuclear and space weapons plus the exceptionally significant peace initiative submitted in April last by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, offer hope and encouragement to the peoples. The members of the DVP are conscious of their growing responsibility in the current complex international situation. That is why they are increasing their efforts to back by concrete deeds the offensive peace commitment of our party and state leadership, in particular of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and carried on jointly with the Soviet Union and within the community of socialist nations. Our members are guided by the principle that the reliable protection of the workers' and peasants' power, a firm state and legal order, the greatest possible orderliness and security strengthen the German Democratic Republic. The firmer and stronger our socialist state, the greater its weight in the fight for peace.

The challenges to the work of the DVP have grown, because the social processes involved in the further organization of the developed socialist society are of steadily increasing intricacy and relevance, giving rise to objectively new demands with respect to public order and safety as well. In handling these tasks, the DVP and other organs of the Ministry of the Interior are able to rely to a constantly rising number of working people who, led by the various SED bezirk and kreis leadership organizations, actively look after the further strengthening of socialist legality, order, discipline and safety on the job and in their leisure time and, thereby, cooperate in the exercise of state power.

By their varied operations, the DVP increasingly contributes to the defense of the national economy and to its uninterrupted advance. The new stage of our economic policy makes for objectively greater challenges to organization, safety, order and discipline and, consequently, the observance of personal responsibility (especially of managers). For them it is imperative to more resolutely apply socialist law in the complex of measures for the accomplishment of national assignments. At the same time this means that the DVP must actively affect the defense and uninterrupted development of the national economy as well as the working people's struggle for the best possible work performances and the rapid growth of labor productivity.

In the socialist competition, conducted by the labor unions, the struggle for the greatest possible growth of output in all fields is most intimately linked with the consolidation of socialist legality, with order, discipline and safety. It is more and more evident that the conscientious observance and

application of socialist law frees genuine production reserves. It is easy to understand that each fire, breakdown, accident and disorder ultimately diminishes the national income or its growth. That is why, more than ever, science, technology, materials conservation, order and safety represent a single entity, beginning with the setting of the task and ending with practical confirmation in the production process. Science and technology increasingly represent the main source of new solutions for the benefit of order and safety.

For and With the Citizen

Our socialist society enjoys an inestimable advantage by the mutual trust between the state power and the citizen. The DVP was able in the past to accomplish its tasks only by steady efforts for the consolidation and deepening of this trustful relationship. It was always guided by the principle of acting for and with the citizen, endeavored to protect and preserve security under the law guaranteed by our workers' and peasants' power for every individual as the precious achievement of socialism. The even better realization in our daily work of this overriding principle is the goal of our mass initiative in preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress.

The members of the DVP are thus contributing to the careful nurture and growth of the working people's trust in our party's policy, something described by Comrade Erich Honecker as our most precious treasure. Socialist democracy is unable to function without such trust. The guarantee of the greatest possible public order and security itself represents an act of socialist democracy in socialism. Wherever a relationship of joint responsibility develops by reciprocal openness between the state power and the citizen, we note a widening of the circle of those who are ready to commit themselves to order, discipline, security and the observance of socialist legality.

The daily and conscious commitment of citizens to socialism, to the prosperity of their socialist homeland largely depends on the success achieved in guaranteeing civil peace, order and security at their peaceful work and in their leisure time. The members of the DVP and their volunteer aides, the citizens involved in committees and activist groups for order and security thus provide a direct contribution to the realization of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. In every respect, therefore, their actions respond to the spirit of socialism--to do everything possible for the welfare of the people and for peace, for a meaningful life in peace and safety. In view of the increasingly aggravated crises in the capitalist countries, we see every more clearly revealed the benefits of socialism and its social values, achieved by--among others--the greatest possible public order and safety oriented to the welfare of the individual. This public order and safety represent one of the beneficials element in the security under the law in socialism, which we need to strengthen and develop.

By carrying out its duties, the DVP helps "protect the dignity and freedom, the life and health of citizens and safeguard their rights." That is laid down in the law on the tasks and powers of the German People's Police, and that is how it is.

We will not slacken our efforts to raise our presence in public life, specially that of the constabulary and section agents, to more efficiently organize crime prevention and anticrime operations, traffic safety and fire prevention and expand our close cooperation with the working people and their social organizations, in particular the committees of the National Front. The active involvement of DVP members in the great popular discussion in preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress, their expertise on the job and in social work is an important ingredient. A great responsibility rests on the 5,252 DVP members who are also deputies in the local people's representations. The more intimate our comrades' relations with the working people, the faster and more efficiently will we be able to respond to the concerns of the citizens, for example save them traveling and waiting time by office hours in registration and permit offices better adapted to local and temporal conditions. Moreover, not only Berlin DVP members are aware that the all-round development of the capital as a political, economic and intellectual-cultural center of our country involves new challenges to public order and security. All this makes greater demands on their knowledge and skills. The training system of the Ministry of the Interior and its steady perfection provides us with every prerequisite for handling any test in daily practice and for doing so at a high standard.

Well Armed for Future Assignments

The 40th anniversary of the German People's Police involves an obligation to vividly and persuasively to convey to future generations of DVP members the wealth of our experiences and battle traditions. That represents a significant guarantee for the DVP to always do justice to its responsibilities as a reliable protective and security organ in the further development of the socialist society.

Four decades of successful DVP development with the guidance of our party are promoting pride in our achievements and, at the same time, helping us to clearly appreciate the dimension of the tasks still remaining. They provide our DVP members with significant motivations for the preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress. Given the slogan "The Best Possible Performances for the Welfare of the People and for Peace - Forward to the Eleventh SED Congress," members of the DVP and other organs of the Ministry of the Interior struggle for excellence in their work. For them this means always honorably to carry out their class duty for the all-round strengthening and reliable protection of the workers' and peasants' power by at all times safeguarding and further improving public order and security. The opportunities for doing so are better than ever. The resolutions adopted by our party and, in particular, the speeches by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, furnish a clear and challenging orientation. Aware of the growing demands on the leading role of the party, we are concentrating on further strengthening the fighting force of the party organizations and the exemplary effect of each communist as well as the politico-ideological work of chiefs, managers, commanders and political organs.

Our experiences persuasively demonstrate that the best results are achieved wherever party organizations decisively influence all service processes, in

particular on work with the public, where superiors and political organs always safeguard the fundamental conditions for the all-round fulfillment of party resolutions and ensure an atmosphere characterized by a combative mentality, conscious discipline, a party-like attitude and outstanding performance readiness. Special attention must be devoted to young DVP members. The Twelfth FDJ Parliament once again reaffirmed that party organizations may at all times rely on FDJ members wearing the DVP uniform. They are among those at the fore when it is a matter of achieving best performances, again outdoing them and making them mass effective. Much attention is also due the labor union organizations of the civilian employees, who have adopted challenging objectives in their programs.

The time of preparation for the Eleventh SED Congress will be used to enable all DVP comrades to always assume a definite attitude to the topical issues of our party's internal and external policies. We remember at all times that the imperialist reaction of those firmly wedded to the past arouses a veritable storm of ideological diversion, that it will try everything to clothe in peaceable garb its warlike dreams of a pan-German Reich, its revanchist designs, plans and activities. Our comrades know from their own experience that which is hiding there: Economic disruption, provocations and other subversive actions against socialism. After all, quite a few of our officers and sergeants have foiled imperialist subversions and other attacks--often at the risk of their very lives. The speculations of the "pan-German" dreamers are built on sand. They come to grief not least by means of the ideological awareness of our members, their class consciousness and revolutionary vigilance.

Our efforts for the guarantee of a constantly great combat strength and readiness as well as stable and politico-morally steadfast collectives focus on the training of DVP members for the unconditional observance of their oath, full confidence in party policy, unconditional loyalty to socialism and the principles of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

As before, we will continue to be firmly guided by the fact that the leading role of the party of the working class, our trustful cooperation with the working people and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union represent inexhaustible sources and sure guarantors of our successful approach. In this spirit, the 40th anniversary of the DVP will further strengthen our members' pride in having helped organize the evolution and growth of our socialist state. We will carry out with revolutionary passion all the tasks assigned us by the party in preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "On the 20th Anniversary of the Establishment of the German People's Police," in "Zuverlaessiger Schutz des Sozialismus" [The Reliable Defense of Socialism], Militaerverlag der DDR, Berlin 1977, p 104.

2. V.I. Lenin, "Will the Bolsheviks Keep Power in the State?" Collected Works, Vol 26, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1961, p 95.
3. "Law on the Duties and Powers of the German People's Police of 11 June 1968," GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, Part I No 11 1968 p 233.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEVELOPMENT OF ROSTOCK SEAPORT REVIEWED

East Berlin SEEWIRTSCHAFT in German No 4, Apr 85 pp 159-162

[Article by Ingbert Schreiber: "Twenty-five Years of Rostock Seaport"]

[Text] The 25th anniversary of the day on which a new port was opened in Rostock is on 30 April, a few days before the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from Hitler's fascism. For tens of thousands of people from all classes of society who joined in building and developing it, this is cause to look back full of pride on what was accomplished in these 2 and 1/2 decades in the Rostock Seaport VEB, the largest ocean transshipping site in our country. In the days around the anniversary the 60,000th ship since the harbor was put into operation is expected to arrive. Once it is processed, then 265 million tons of cargo of every type will have crossed the docksides in these 2 and 1/2 decades.

At the beginning of the 1950's the contradiction between the dynamic growth of the GDR's economy and the capacities of the old Mecklenburg seaports of Rostock, Wismar and Stralsund was apparent. Of necessity, transshipping continued to increase steadily in foreign ports since the GDR's oceangoing foreign trade had increased fourfold between 1952 and 1958. In 1960, 1.9 million tons were transshipped in the ports of the FRG, and an additional 1.1 million tons of goods had to be processed through ports in Poland. Parallel with this development the GDR's merchant fleet had been substantially enlarged. In 1960 it had more than 47 ships with a capacity approximating 280,000 tons.

For these reasons it became unavoidable to build a large port in which it was possible to process in completely new dimensions, one which could be home port for a large merchant fleet and at the same time be an international trade site. Its construction began with enormous enthusiasm--just a few days after the party and government leadership had made the decision in October 1957. Over M4 million in donations, 65,000 tons of boulders for the construction of the east jetty (collected from throughout the republic and brought to Rostock), a half-million hours of voluntary work and the firm will of thousands of designers, scientists and construction people had accomplished the incredible in spite of countless technical problems in making the port operational as quickly as possible: After a construction period of 30 months, 20,000 enthusiastic people experienced on 30 April 1960 the solemn moment when the 10,000 dwt general cargo freighter "Schwerin" was processed as the first ship at the first general cargo berth.

The design of the Rostock seaport made it possible to achieve an annual transshipping volume of a maximum of 9 million tons by creating the necessary foundation by 1969 in its first stage of expansion. The wharf and land facilities were designed in such a way that both liquid and bulk cargo as well as general cargo could be transshipped. In summer 1960 the petroleum harbor and the bulk goods transshipping sector also began operation. The focal point of the expansion continued to be the general cargo sector, for which in the years up to 1969, 19 additional berths, 5 large warehouses, bonded-warehouse areas, transshipping and transferring equipment and the necessary installations for their maintenance had to be created.

It was difficult enough to realize all this work in a systematic manner. Even more difficult, however, was solving the problem of finding qualified labor forces to operate the facilities which were developing at a rapid rate and for the equipment which was steadily becoming more extensive and for its maintenance. In 1960 there were no more than 60 experienced dockworkers, crane operators, stock keepers and skilled administrators in the seaport. They had come from the Rostock city harbor, from Wismar or from the port at Warnemuende which had been shut down at that time. These few specialists had to start operating the port with approximately 1,000 "new arrivals." Hundreds of young people from every conceivable profession and from all bezirks in the republic, who had come to the port, had to be taught the basic principles of harbor transshipping as quickly as possible. At the enterprise academy they learned how to operate the equipment, step by step they learned to master the technologies for hundreds of kinds of goods. Just like them, young people, men and women had to learn their craft as harbor railroad personnel, as forwarding agents, brokers, talliers, ship suppliers, and yet the port grew more quickly than the training of the steady stream of new employees coming to it. The turning point occurred after the port's enterprise school was established in 1964 and training of skilled harbor workers had begun. In the first 5 years alone 2,074 boys and girls earned skilled-worker certification as skilled harbor workers, loading supervisors and maritime merchants. In this way there was increasing success in forming a skeleton staff.

In 1962 the seaport reached a capacity which was greater than the total transshipping volume of the three old ports in 1957. Although in the first half of the 1960's construction was very much in evidence, it was possible to conclude 1965 with a volume of 5,897,200 tons. From May 1960 to the end of 1965, 8,464 ships from 32 countries were processed and approximately 25 million tons transshipped. Expansion proceeded according to plan. In mid-1968 there were 13 berths, 52 cranes with a capacity of 3.2 to 16 tons, 5 wharf sheds with 83,360 m² of storage space and 87,900 m² of bonded-warehouse space on piers I and II for general cargo transshipping. The petroleum harbor had three transshipping sites for tankers up to 30,000 dwt which were unloaded at an hourly volume of about 700 tons. Tank storage for petroleum bunker fuels, diesel fuel and gasoline had a capacity of 100,000 m³. At the bulk cargo pier six bunker bridge cranes with a rating of 20 tons/40 m worked around the clock at three berths. The bonded warehouses had a capacity of 13,200 m² and permitted storage of about 90,000 tons of cargo.

In addition to the expansion of the harbor and the ongoing training of its collectives, in the second half of the 1960's the focus was on testing and putting into practice new socialist forms and methods of cooperation on the part of all enterprises involved in the transshipping process. The council on cooperation which was established in 1967 created the prerequisites for this. Cooperation was improved, transport chains established, and socialist rationalization was put on a scientific basis. The increase in efficiency in the port in the second half of the 1960's stemmed in particular from the fact that the share of high quality transshipping capacities and of special goods transshipping was successfully increased and additional services and management activities, which internationally are customary for a port, were increasingly taken on. At the end of 1968 Rostock's seaport was the base for 13 regularly scheduled companies.

Adhering to the loading and unloading rates as well as timely and qualitative processing of all these shipping companies, compelled the use of increasingly more effective forms of cooperation and organization of the transport, transshipping and storage processes. Precisely 9 years following the start of operation--in the meantime the seaport had 25 ship's berths (3 for liquid cargo, 3 for bulk cargo, 19 for general cargo) and 60 cranes along the roughly 6,000 m-long wharf--the 50 millionth ton could be transshipped. Approximately 16,000 ships from 49 countries had been processed up to that time.

A variety of technological and technical changes such as the introduction of container transshipping (1968), the construction of a Rostock-Schwedt pipeline (1969), starting transshipping of heavy and extremely heavy goods, of vehicles, metals and raw iron at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's, resulted in a marked increase in capacity. From 1968 to 1971 it was possible to increase annual capacity from 7 to 12 million tons.

In 1972, within the context of the CEMA comprehensive program between the governments of the GDR and the CSSR, there was agreement on joint construction of an ore/coal unloading facility at the bulk cargo pier. The new bulk cargo facility, which made it possible to expand to 5.5 million tons/year, was put into operation in 1976. Parallel with that, in the general cargo sector capacity-expanding investments had also been realized. Thus, it was possible to put into operation a crane repair shop in fall 1973, a special plant for ro/ro transshipping in spring 1974, a new container terminal in September 1974 and a year later a berth at the north end of pier II for processing container ships. In 1974 the building of a specialized berth at pier II, which was equipped with two 63-ton cranes of the "condor" type, recognized the fact that imports of rolling-mill products from the Soviet Union, to an increasing degree, had become a key point in general cargo transshipping.

The introduction in 1977 of the four-brigade system for the general cargo enterprise sectors, pier I, pier II and the city harbor, was one of the most effective rationalization means for increasing capacity in transshipping general cargo. This step was essential in order to achieve more rapid processing of railroad cars by adapting to the railway's shift schedule. Between 1975 and 1980 the capacity level was raised substantially due to the following: initiating the transshipping of grain with the help of floating

lifters (1976); the rebuilding of the petroleum harbor (1978) including the construction of a ballast water processing plant; the additional mechanization of general cargo transshipping; deepening the harbor approach, the petroleum harbor and selected bulk cargo and general cargo berths; the establishment of a number of new transport chains; the formation of new load units and new forms of controlling the TUL processes through the use of EDP and communication technology (Table 1). The number of regular scheduled lines had increased to 18 with a total of 800 sailings per year.

Table 1. Capacity Development 1975 to 1980 (in millions of tons)

Year	Liquid cargo	Bulk cargo	General cargo	Total	Ships processed
1975	3,858	4,853	3,601	12,312	2,896
1976	2,252	5,578	3,656	11,486	2,611
1977	1,686	5,851	4,289	11,825	2,748
1978	1,478	6,776	4,613	12,867	2,780
1979	1,809	7,239	4,576	13,624	2,662
1980	2,563	7,785	4,944	15,292	2,731

In 1980 transshipping 1,000 tons of goods required an average of 8.5 hours. That was a volume which internationally was customary for a universal port. In the years 1979-1980 the highest rate of growth up to then in the 20-year history of the port had been achieved by an increase approximating 1.7 million tons. It came almost equally from liquid, bulk and general cargo. The balance sheet for the 20 years of work of the Rostock seaport showed 47,000 ships from 63 countries and cargo transshipping amounting to 191.5 million tons.

In spite of these substantial results, in the second half of the 1970's there appeared, as before the construction of the seaport, once again a contradiction between the demands of foreign trade, which planned transshipping of over 20 million tons in Rostock for 1985, and the existing capacities. For this reason the GDR's party and government leadership decided in September 1978 to make a significant increase in the efficiency of the seaport by expanding it on a large scale. Since then five large construction projects have changed the face of the seaport. Construction work was started a few months following the decision about the second phase of expansion. The Dredge, Towing and Salvage Co VEB started with the dredging work for harbor basin C, along whose east wharf side the foundation was laid in June 1980, for a new transshipping complex for grain, feed and fish meal. At the beginning of 1982 the seaport accepted the new facility which has an annual capacity of about 4 million tons. In May 1979 construction of a ro/ro container terminal was started. Furthermore, new capacities for transshipping containers and ro/ro loadings were and are being created in a total area of 280,000 m².

Since 1982, at the north end of pier I, a new berth which is equipped with an ore unloader with a technical capacity of 2 million tons per year has improved

opportunities for bulk cargo imports. By banking pier I, three berths along 1,100 m of new wharf were built for transshipping metal and general cargo with appropriate storage areas and an air-conditioned warehouse. The two berths alone which are equipped for importing Soviet rolling-mill products have a technical capacity of 3.2 million tons per year. In February of this year a berth and the storage and transshipping facilities which are necessary for exporting potash and urea became operational on the west side of harbor basin C. A sixth project, which was built for and managed by the chemical industry on the harbor grounds, was the construction of a 29-ft-deep berth (1 foot = 30.5 cm) for processing chemical tankers.

When berth 61--equipped with a TAKRAF portainer--for container ships becomes available this year for transshipping at pier I then the last of the large investment projects which were planned for the period 1981 to 1985 will have been realized. Since all along approximately 95 percent of all dry cargo which is imported and exported via Rostock has been brought to and from the port by rail, considerable attention was and is being devoted to the steady improvement of the handling capacity of the port rail station. When it was put into operation it had 120 km of track--today there are 100 km more. When the seaport is connected into the electrified Berlin-Rostock rail line starting at the end of 1985, substantially improved opportunities will be created for transporting goods to and from the harbor.

Today a collective of 5,950 men, women and young people, of whom 582 have advanced school or technical school training, 541 are masters and 3,972 are skilled workers, with an average age of 34, provides smooth round-the-clock processing of ships, rail cars and trucks. In 5 harbor basins with over 9,000 m of wharf the seaport offers 36 berths with a maximum depth of 37 ft. In the city harbor there are seven berths for ships with a 21-ft draft (maximum of 5,000 dwt). The berths for general cargo ships have a maximum depth of 34 ft, those for bulk cargo 37 ft and at the oil link the depth is 38 ft. This means that general cargo, ro/ro and container ships up to 30,000 dwt, bulk cargo freighters up to 60,000 dwt and tankers up to 50,000 dwt can be processed.

Key areas of work in the port are the processing of bulk cargoes to supply industries in the GDR and CSSR and the timely and qualitative loading and unloading of the ships which operate in the 25 regular and joint regular scheduled lines and for which Rostock has been the base port for years (Table 2). An experienced collective, versatile transporting, lifting and transferring technology and modern forms of process control today define the appearance of the harbor. With the help of the "Portbilanz" computer system since mid-1985 there has been computer-controlled coordination of all capacities, from monthly to shift planning without exception, in order to guarantee their most optimal use in processing ships and land transport means. Under the direction of the port, a 24-hour program which is obligatory for all participating enterprises was developed jointly with the railroad, the forwarding agent, the brokerage house and other cooperating partners; realization and constant updating of the program are managed by an efficient operations center.

Table 2. Regular Scheduled Service From Rostock Seaport

		Sailings per month
1.	USSR	ro/ro service 4
2.	Southern Finland	ro/ro service 4
3.	Great Britain	ro/ro service 4
4.	Cuba	container service 1
5.	Great Britain	container service 8
6.	Red Sea	container service 1-4
7.	Nigeria	container service 1
8.	East Africa	container service 1
9.	Middle East/India/Pakistan	semicontainer service 1
10.	Japan	semicontainer service 1
11.	Japan	express service 1
12.	Southeast Asia	express service 1
13.	Red Sea	container service 1-4
14.	Red Sea	conventional 1
15.	China/Korea	conventional 1
16.	Cuba/Mexico	conventional 1
17.	Vietnam	conventional 1
18.	East Africa	conventional 1
19.	West Africa	conventional 3
20.	Norway	conventional 2
21.	Australia	conventional 1
22.	West Finland	conventional 2
23.	Great Britain	conventional 2
24.	India/Pakistan/Bangladesh/Sri Lanka	conventional 1
25.	Middle East (Gulf ports)/India/ Pakistan	conventional 1

With transshipment of 18,915,600 tons of goods, the highest level since 1960, the port collective proved in 1984 in socialist competition that it is ready and able to utilize the investments which were generously made available by the state to achieve a large increase in capacity. With a share of 7.1 million tons the ocean-borne exchange of goods with the Soviet Union had traditionally played an important role. Every fourth ship of the 3,213 ships which was processed in 1984 was of Soviet registry. In contrast to the previous year, a significant increase was recorded in 1984 both in the import of bulk cargo and in the import and export of general cargo, in respect to which the import of Soviet metals was of decisive importance with an increase of 375 kt (Table 3). The positive trend in container transshipping and in ro/ro traffic in 1984 continued. It was decisively determined by the exchange of goods between the GDR and the USSR. In the Rostock-Riga route 319 kt amounted to 41.6 percent of the total container traffic, in the Rostock-Riga ro/ro service 133.6 kt amounted to 30.9 percent of the ro/ro volume.

As determined by the trade union shop stewards of the Rostock Seaport VEB at the end of November 1984, these good achievements provide a solid basis for achieving a new annual record output this year in socialist competition and in

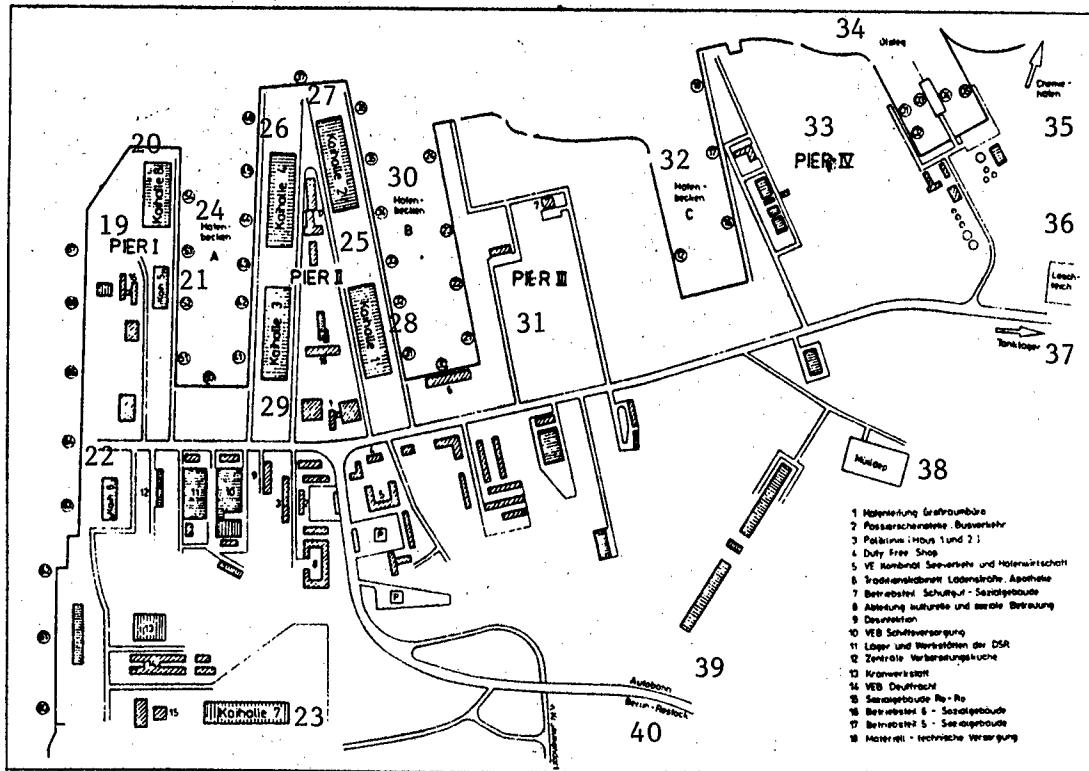


Figure 1. Site Sketch of Rostock Seaport VEB

1. Port administration, open-plan office
2. Permit office, bus transport
3. Polyclinic (buildings 1 and 2)
4. Duty Free Shop
5. Merchant Traffic and Harbor Management Combine VEB
6. Indoctrination center, shopping street, pharmacy
7. Enterprise sector bulk cargo, social buildings
8. Department of cultural and social care
9. Fumigation
10. Ship Supplying VEB
11. Warehouses and workshops of the DSR [German Water Transport and Transshipping Enterprise]
12. Central kitchen
13. Crane workshop
14. Deutfracht [Deutfracht International Charter and Shipping] VEB
15. Social buildings ro/ro
16. Enterprise sector 6--social buildings
17. Enterprise sector 7--social buildings
18. Material-technical supplying
19. Pier I
20. Wharf shed 8
21. Wharf shed 5
22. Wharf shed 6
23. Wharf shed 7
24. Harbon basin A
25. Pier II
26. Wharf shed 4
27. Wharf shed 2
28. Wharf shed 1
29. Wharf shed 3
30. Harbor basin B
31. Pier III
32. Harbor basin C
33. Pier IV
34. Oil link
35. Chemical port
36. Watering pond
37. Tank storage
38. Garbage dump
39. Rostock-Berlin autobahn to Krummendorf
40. to Krummendorf

Table 3. Transshipping by Primary Types of Goods, 1984 Compared With 1983
(in tons)

	1984	1983
Liquid cargo	2,648,324	3,015,348
Bulk cargo	9,676,631	8,603,179
including:		
Grain/feed	3,109,427	3,302,181
Apatite	1,112,251	1,091,898
Iron ore	2,641,191	2,695,741
General cargo	6,590,697	6,087,335
including:		
Metals	3,263,117	2,887,758
Wood	333,861	373,083
Cement	450,638	547,721
Containers	766,002	493,178
Ro/ro	430,334*	513,500

*In 1984 for the first time there is ro/ro transshipping without containers which were transported on ro/ro ships.

preparation for the 11th SED Congress. For the first time they have set a goal of transshipping more than 20 million tons of goods. Planned are the transhipment of 2.8 million tons of liquid cargo, 10.9 million tons of bulk cargo and 7 million tons of general cargo. Beyond that, the harbor also offers the republic's foreign trade the capacity of three transshipping operations each day.

Thus, just as in the past 25 years, this balance sheet of capacity should be the proof of this, for in the second half of the 1980's the workers at the Rostock seaport will also utilize their extensive experiences, their readiness and their know-how to make sure that Rostock lives up to its reputation of being a reliable partner in the GDR economy and an internationally recognized port which, in the service of worldwide peaceful trade, contributes to guaranteeing peace to mankind.

12124
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIALIST PEACE INITIATIVES, RESEARCH URGED

East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE in German Vol 40 No 25, 18 Jun 85 pp 769-771

[Article by Prof Dr Werner Neubert, department head for cultural policy and esthetics, the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence: "The Meaning of Research on Peace"]

[Text] While the term "research on peace" is not actually surprising as far as we are concerned, it is indeed a novelty as an independent field of research. Yet, for some time past, many scientific training facilities and institutions in the GDR have been pursuing special activities in the form of symposiums, debates, commentaries by social and natural scientists, opinions by world famous scientists. This fact seems to me well worth further discussion.

What is it, this research on peace in socialism? What is its object, its objective, and what are the prospects of this unmistakably humanist discipline of thought and action on the basis of the purposeful peace policy of socialism? We might quickly and properly reply to all these questions by saying that it is concerned with saving peace and the contributions of all sciences oriented toward this. The actual dimension and sophistication of the task involved is quite clearly indicated by the communique of the Fourteenth Conference of Higher Education Ministers of the Socialist Countries, held in last September. This called for the continuing activation of research on peace, especially in connection with all other crucial tasks for education, training, theory and practice, science and progress.

In fact it is more than ever imperative to direct the enormous intellectual potential of real socialism to this, the most urgent task of our age. We have ever been preoccupied with the promotion of peace and progress. And yet we believe that we should definitely devote even more intensive and novel reflections to peace, now threatened more than ever by nuclear gamblers. This consideration amply justifies our pursuit of specific research on peace in addition to the general humanist mission of our thought and action.

From the aspect of history, intellectual efforts directed to the real "feasibility" of peace--at a standard qualifying them as scientific--have been proceeding at the very latest since the pronouncements by Marx, Engels and Lenin with regard to the increasing urgency of this problem for mankind. This

fact lends wings to the matter in hand, representing the basis for our research on the manifold groups of issues concerning war and peace in the present circumstances. It will continue to reinforce socialist peace policy by doctrine, science and argument. No more responsible task for science in all fields is imaginable, in particular because such activities are occurring in a country which champions the preservation of peace as the supreme national maxim.

Let me remind you here of the significant opportunities offered by philosophy, economics, history, sociology and the field of ethics and morals, ethnic studies, jurisprudence, all natural sciences including in particular medicine, physics and chemistry. It is certainly not difficult to draw up a realistic catalogue of extremely rewarding subjects. Quite logically, many fields of thought and action are offering themselves up to our GDR research on peace. In this context, we need to devote a great deal of effort to the refutation of lies and distortions which are inimical to peace. Let me cite only one of these allegations--as stupid as it is dangerous--, according to which the ideological differences between socialism and capitalism-imperialism must inevitably and necessarily be settled by military means. Or the claim that armaments ultimately serve the flourishing of the "free" economy and, therefore, the peoples there, while--simultaneously--inflicting damage on the "evil powers" (by this they mean socialism).

The repeated proposals put forward by the USSR and the CPSU represent research on peace of the most practical and commonsensical nature for anyone who is willing to keep an open mind. Let us just remember the suggestion for the entire period of negotiations to agree to a moratorium on the creation of space attack weapons, including research and development in this perilous direction, on freezing offensive strategic weapons and stopping the emplacement of medium-range missiles in Europe. The Soviet Union's simultaneous underpinning of such peace strengthening concepts by actual deeds represents both research on peace and a real service to peace--something appreciated by reasonable people everywhere. To the discomfort of thoughtless and unscrupulous people, the efficiency and popularity of many-layered research on peace is growing internationally on this foundation of elementary commonsense. In great demand and therefore much involved is the so-called intellectual and political culture, for example with regard to the problem how to develop dialogue, correspondence, communication, cooperation, the relevant exchange of opinions instead of demagogic, bigotry, prejudice and deliberate disinformation. That is the imperative of politics, commonsense and culture in the nuclear age!

The worldwide and truly serious research on peace of the present time certainly involves a lot and, in this meaning, is an organic element of the present-day peace movement. It is quite normal for the various "schools" and personalities of various countries and continents to use various emphases and handle specific issues by different methods, because this arises from the variety of the forces engaged. A former NATO general, for example, not only investigates another issue--military and strategic in fact--, he may also prefer the game plan known to him instead of the analysis expressed. In the end it still leads him to the objective conclusion that reasonable men can no longer even discuss war as a method of policy...The perceptions of such people

will not be rejected simply because sandboxes and computers have already spawned the most frightful idiocies and may do so again. The decisive point is the commonsense of the conclusions arrived at by the person concerned!

Research on peace has the potential of being an international force to be reckoned with. But it needs elementary truth and clarity--elements which, in the given social conditions in the nonsocialist part of the world, cannot always be assumed. After all, there are people and institutions in the overt or covert background of the military-industrial complex, who speak of peace and claim to wish it but would like to do away with it as quickly as possible. Genuine research on peace must help unmask them and reveal their true nature. By contrast, the WFW [World Federation of Scientists] and its roughly 500,000 members in 50 countries deserve our utmost respect and esteem. Since 1983, its disarmament committee has submitted epoch making research studies on defense against a nuclear disaster (see the periodical WISSENSCHAFT UND FORTSCHRITT, published by the GDR Akademie Verlag, Nos 3 and 5/1985). The liberating sentence from the 18 March 1985 statement by the WFW executive council sounds like a world formula of sweet reasonableness: "There is not a single problem on our planet, that cannot be settled on the basis of peace and mutual trust."

We may confidently assert this tried and tested truth: The general worldwide standard of research on peace largely depends on the quality of this research in socialism, and this certainly represents a tremendous challenge for us, an immense obligation we owe to peace.

11698
CSO: 2300/447

21 August 1985

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STATISTICS ON HEALTH DEFECTS OF DRAFT AGE YOUTH

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 26 No 3, Jun 85
pp 126-127

[Article by Dr M. Drechsler, Colonel, People's Police, in military service
et. al.]

[Text] 1 Figure, 1 Table, 17 Bibliographical References
Health status, draftee, NVA, evaluation
-: Draft examination, evaluation
=: Physical and health defects, frequency, severity

Summary

To ascertain the health of young draftees, results were evaluated from a random sample of 54,383 draft examinations performed on subjects born between 1961 and 1965.

In the frequency distribution of the physical defects and deficiencies and under consideration of the degrees of severity that were observed, there was a special focus on visual impairment, musculoskeletal disease and mental conditions in terms of their relationship to fitness. A positive evaluation was made of health development tendencies.

"Scientific and technical progress in military affairs and individual performance ability and predisposition of each soldier are two interrelated and inseparable factors in providing a constant guarantee of the nation's defense preparedness and ensurance of a high and ongoing level of readiness for action by the armed services." (5)

Problem and Goal

The aim of military medical appraisal in draftee examinations is medical "evaluation of the draftee in terms of his fitness and suitability for serving in military positions, careers or projects that correspond to the mental and physical performance ability of the individual, on the one hand, and fulfill the requirements of modern combat with its complex battle techniques on the other." (4) In terms of the individuals included and the range of the examination spectrum, draft examinations are among the most comprehensive mass

examinations, which include not only determination, recording and statistical processing of health indicators in the male population of draft age, but also permit conclusions regarding the health of defined groups of the population. (4,8,9,10,11,13)

Since all members of the drafted age group are included, the examinations are performed according to uniform regulations and evaluation criteria and all physical defects and health damage are encompassed (8,9), according to Gestewitz (4), "depending on the assignment, results of the draft examinations can be considered in terms of longitudinal and transverse sections and can also serve as a base for decisions on health policy."

Subjects and Method

Based on material from obligatory data collection, results of a random sample of examinations performed on 54,383 draftees born between 1961-1965 were subjected to differentiated epidemiological evaluation. The health evaluation was based on an appraisal of physical defects and deficiencies as established in the Regulation of the National Defense Minister Concerning Fitness for Military Service and Suitability for Individual Projects or Service Positions in the National People's Army. (16). The severity and frequency of these defects and deficiencies were analyzed for the examination period.

For better characterization of the morbidity, all of the physical defects and deficiencies were assigned to diagnostic groups established in the International Disease Classification (IKK 17).

Presentation of Results

The physical defects and deficiencies analyzed independent of their severity exhibit nearly constant distribution among draftees born between 1961 and 1965. While modifications in the form of the spinal column and thorax (0412) and slight euthyroid goiters (2411) displayed increasing frequency, this was not such as to affect fitness in severity degrees 1 and 2 that were determined.

However, if we look at the frequency distribution of physical defects and deficiencies in severity degrees 3 and 4, it is apparent that out of 100 draftees examined, an average of 11.72 are in severity degree 3 and 4.65 are in degree 4.

Distribution by sequence of the physical defects and deficiencies in severity degree 3 is as follows: impairment of eye function (4313), spinal modifications with reduction of exertion (0413), disturbances in nasal respiration (5113), obesity (1913) and chronic recurrence of conditions of the middle ear (4913).

In Figure 1 all of the physical defects and deficiencies observed have been classified in the disease or diagnostic groups specified in the IKK (17).

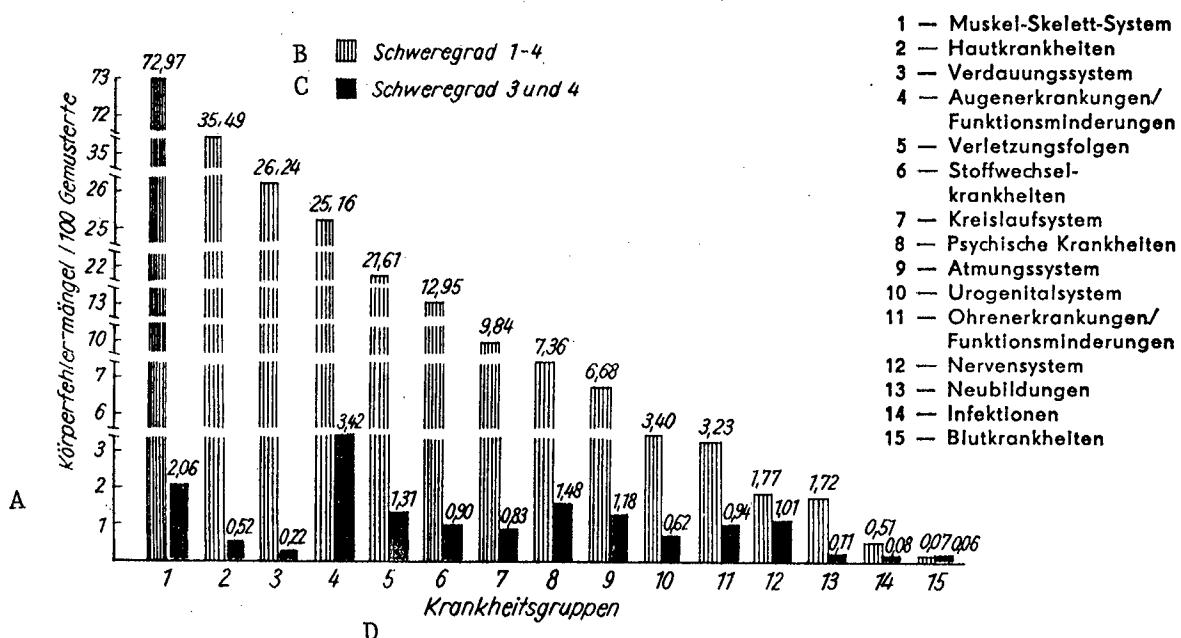


Figure 1. Distribution of physical defects and deficiencies under consideration of disease groups (IKK) from birth years 1961-1965 (n = 54,383)

Key:

A. Physical defects, deficiencies/100 draftees examined	C. Severity degree 3 and 4
B. Severity degree 1-4	D. Disease groups
1. Musculoskeletal system	9. Respiratory system
2. Cutaneous diseases	10. Urogenital system
3. Digestive system	11. Diseases of the ear/impairment of function
4. Diseases of the eye/impairment of function	12. Nervous system
5. Traumatic sequelae	13. Neoplasms
6. Metabolic diseases	14. Infections
7. Circulatory system	15. Blood diseases
8. Mental conditions	

Of these conditions, 31.86 percent involve the musculoskeletal system, followed by cutaneous diseases (15.49 percent), and diseases of the digestive system, reduction of visual function and traumatic sequelae at an average of 10 percent each.

The sequence differs for distribution of physical defects and deficiencies which prevent fitness or limit suitability.

At 23.23 percent, visual impairment occupies first place followed by conditions of the musculoskeletal system (14.0 percent), mental conditions (10.0 percent), traumatic sequelae (8.93 percent) and respiratory diseases (8.06 percent).

Developmental tendency of selected physical defect or deficiency groups in the birth years from 1961 to 1965

A Geburts- jahrgang	B Diabetes mellitus		C Körperfehler- bzw. -mängelgruppe		E Hypertonie	
	Schweregrad		Adipositas		Schweregrad	
	1 bis 4 (je 100 Gemusterte)	3 und 4	1 bis 4 (je 100 Gemusterte)	3 und 4	1 bis 4 (je 100 Gemusterte)	3 und 4
1961	0,14	0,09	3,58	0,58	6,19	0,23
1962	0,28	0,22	3,93	0,81	7,01	0,30
1963	0,19	0,16	3,55	0,60	9,36	0,19
1964	0,17	0,14	3,36	0,43	7,51	0,20
1965	0,24	0,29	4,14	0,58	9,17	0,11

A - Birth year; B - Diabetes mellitus, Severity Degree, 1 to 4, 3 and 4 (per 100 draftees); C - Physical defect or deficiency group; D - Obesity, Severity Degree, 1 to 4, 3 and 4 (per 100 draftees); E - Hypertension, Severity Degree, 1 to 4, 3 and 4 (per 100 draftees)

Table 1 shows the developmental tendency of selected physical defects and disease groups which are considered as particularly significant risk factors not only among draftees but in the overall population of the GDR.

While the morbidity rate for diabetes mellitus among draftees is fairly constant at 0.2 percent during the investigation period, obesity and hypertension show a tendency to rise.

Discussion and Conclusions

If indirect evaluation of the health status results from indicators such as diagnosis and physical defects and deficiencies, which encompass not only the present health of defined groups but also studies on problems relating to work, performance and project fitness in terms of established requirements and tasks imposed by the working and service conditions, then accurately performed and scientifically based draft examinations represent an important starting point for demographic and epidemiological studies. (2,3,5,8,9,10,15)

The present investigation results not only permit conclusions regarding the health status of the draftees or the effectiveness of comprehensive health protection measures (7,8,9,11,14), but also consideration of the limits and possibilities of military medical evaluation of fitness and suitability. (3,4,9,10,13)

This means that, in addition to the actual frequency and distribution of physical defects and deficiencies within an examination group, modifications in the examination method and the definition of the physical defects and severity to be determined will affect the examination results. (8,9)

If our examination results are compared with those obtained by Jaeschke (8) from 1965 to 1967, the sequence of physical defects would be foot deformities, dental traumas, cutaneous diseases, spinal modifications and functional disturbances in vision.

Among the draftees of the birth years from 1961 to 1965, there is a clear-cut increment in form defects of the spinal column in all degrees of severity. The rate amounts to 43.13 percent.

Developmental tendencies in the health status of young draftees can be clearly recognized if the degree of severity of the physical defects is included in the evaluation. Hence, there is a definite regression in physical defects of severity degree 3 and 4 in the cardiocirculatory system. This affects primarily hypertension and sequelae of inflammatory heart conditions. The reasons for this would appear to be not only therapeutic measures such as long-term antibiotic therapy and proper clearing of foci, but also improved clinical monitoring of patients with cardiocirculatory disease by the children's and adolescents' health protection services. (1,2,7,8,12)

While more attention must be devoted to the prevalence of young patients with borderline hypertension because of potential delayed complications, we recorded borderline blood pressure levels in 7.64 percent of all the draftees in our examination group. This puts our prevalence rate between the frequencies observed by Groeschke et al. (6) at 8.13 percent and those by Stengel (14) at 5 to 6 percent. In this connection we must point out the necessity for standardized examination methods for each mass examination series (1). The increment in frequency figures for reduced intelligence and epileptic forms cited by a number of authors (8,14) was also confirmed by our examinations. Even though traumatic sequelae are in fifth position in the physical defect distribution figures, we did not observe an increase in accident sequelae including severe cranial trauma as noted by Stengel (14) among others.

On the whole, interpretation of the examination results from our study indicates a good health status for the birth years from 1961 to 1965, which reflects the comprehensive concern of our socialist society for maintenance and promotion of the health and performance ability of the young generation.

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7072

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HUNGARY

MTA'S POLITICAL ADVISORY ROLE: GABCIKOVO-NAGYMOROS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Jul 85 p 5

[Interview with Ivan T. Berend new president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by Denes Kovacs: "Concerning The Situation of Science and Its Societal Tasks"]

[Excerpt] [Question] In the last few years the relationship between science and politics has become much closer. How do you see the present and the future of this relationship?

[Answer] It is a great triumph of our public life that for a considerable time already, but especially since the preparation of the economic reform, the connection between politics and science has become institutionalized. Forums of the Party, the state and of government organizations ask the opinion of researchers when preparing important decisions. This is realized partly by means of the organization of advisory bodies, partly by the institutionalized advisory-consulting functions of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In this way, in the last few years the Presidium of the Academy has offered its opinion in the preparatory stages of governmental decision on such important matters as the management of housing, the law regarding education, the concept of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the rescue of Lake Balaton and the assessment of the country's agro-ecological potential. The Academy has also had a part in the preparation of the 13th congress of the MSZMP by analyzing the guiding principles of the congress and by making recommendations. We are presently working on topics of no lesser importance than the consideration of the economic policy to be pursued by the government in the second half of our decade. Similarly, we are active in the consideration of countrywide, not only Academy related, scientific research tasks such as that of the evaluation and critique of the study prepared by the water authority on the ecological effects of the contemplated dam at Gabcikovo-Nagymaros.

In the future too, we would like to initiate investigations more frequently without being asked. From these we could make suggestions for the socio-economic actions that will become necessary in the future. We would also like to return to a consideration of questions treated by us in the past so that we can evaluate how and to what extent the recommendations of the Academy were put into effect.

There is still a good deal to be done in the area of the relationship between the Academy and politics. Still, even in its present form I consider the intensive exchange of ideas very valuable, especially in two respects. First, science needs the stimulation practical applications and its demands. Second, nor can politics do without a better scientific foundation of practical action. In this connection the question arises, to what extent does politics pay attention to the recommendations of scientists? The many years of the economic reform indicate that the answer is: to a very great extent. I find it natural, however, that the scientific standpoint is not always accepted, or not entirely.

One factor is that in general there is no such thing as the opinion of science. Rather, politics has to select from a variety of substantially different opinions. Also, the government must pay attention to several political factors which may not be known by the scientists formulating an opinion. The responsibility of the decision is ultimately that of the politicians. I must add that the leading bodies of the Academy and its scientists would need more regular political consultations in order to work more effectively. Finally, I emphasize that we cannot be satisfied with a passive advisory role and that therefore in the next few years we plan to examine, with the cooperation of the bodies of the Academy and its research network, the requirements necessary for a technical-scientific, economic and social revival in the 1990's and the possibilities and conditions of its realization.

12846
CSO: 2502/59

HUNGARY

REASONS FOR POOR SHOWING IN SPORTS ANALYZED

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian May 85, pp 99-104

[Interview with sociologist Laszlo Laki by Katalin Mogyoro: "Competition in Sport"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] In recent times, it has become more and more evident to the Hungarian general public that something is out of kilter with domestic competitive sports. We are gradually being ousted from the world's forefront in our traditionally successful branches of sport. A few "sinister" cases made public in recent years have also brought discredit to top-ranking sports. At the same time, it is more and more obvious that we are talking about problems which may have political and social implications. You and Mihaly Nyerges tried to outline this in your book "Atloves" [Piercing Shot], which was prepared with a grant from the College of Physical Education.

[Answer] Numerous books, studies and interviews have already sought an explanation for the status of Hungarian competitive sports. All the problems of Hungarian competitive sports have been investigated: the level of domestic championships; selection and substitution; supervision; training methods. Parallel with this, the authorities responsible for competitive sports have taken operational measures, but most of them have not achieved the desired result. So far, however, a comprehensive analysis of the situation has not been made. By outlining, describing and analyzing the problems, we wanted to provide viewpoints for an approach to and estimation of the current situation in competitive sports and for a plan of operational intervention. This is why we surveyed competitive sports first and foremost in terms of organization, financing, personal interest, and responsibility.

[Question] Several years may elapse before a sociological study sees the light of day--if it does at all. But the fact that enterprises--under the influence of new economic regulations--have begun to eliminate sport-related jobs makes measures more urgent in any case. The livelihood of 5,000 sports workers is endangered. And now the critical issue has been raised: who pays for top-ranking sports? It is true that a subsequent intervention until the end of the year again postponed a reply, but is this enough time for transforming an organizational system which has been ingrained for decades in Hungarian competitive sports?

[Answer] To begin with, we should frankly recognize that amateurism does not exist in the sense in which it has been defined for decades. Within the framework of the study, we drew up the schedule of topflight handball players. It came to light that each first-class male competitor spent 25-30 hours a week with handball: training, playing in matches, traveling. This is equivalent to an average workweek if I add that playing in matches and training is so demanding physically and mentally on the competitor that he must rest during his so-called free time and is unable to pursue other activity. Incidentally, this is not just our opinion. French expert Rene Maheu said at a conference held on the centennial of Baron Pierre Coubertin's birth: "The viewpoints of Coubertin are suitable for Victorian England and middle-class Europe at the start of the century. It is impossible at present for a competitor to keep himself before the public eye without support from the state, the university or some commercial firm. That is to say, there are no longer any amateurs today, generally speaking. So why are we loath to call the athletes professionals? Is the painter, the musician or the writer disqualified because he receives a fee? Why would money or some other material benefit corrupt the Olympian, if he is not affected by the poet's honor? It is high time to utter the simple truth known to everyone that only in a formal way do the majority of amateurs fulfill the terms of amateur status."

[Question] In the Western countries, however, the problem of amateurism emerges this sharply mostly in connection with competitors sent to the Olympic Games. But sport's business connections are acknowledged in the capitalist world, and the entire system operates accordingly.

[Answer] We should begin to "set things right" in our country, too, by transforming the organizational system of sports. The wherewithal necessary for the competitive operation of individual branches of sport currently comes from three sources: state subsidies, grants of a material and other nature from the so-called basis agencies, and the clubs' own income. The basis agency resources are the most significant in proportion and in magnitude. In addition to actual financial support, they also help with grants in kind: they contribute to the clubs' construction operations, to the renovation of their buildings, and pay for the teams' trips. They provide the competitors with a job--in many cases without actual work--a salary, worktime bonus, and apartment.

[Question] This system evolved when the basis agencies "ran the household" in a strict plan-directive scheme, in the thick tangle of state interventions. And in that system it was essentially all the same to them what the money was spent on. Nowadays, however, the purpose of eliminating sport-related jobs is to indicate that the system of economic interests has changed profoundly. And if the clubs have been hit traumatically by this situation, the enterprises' reaction in any event points to the development of positive economic and--if we ponder it well--moral tendencies.

[Answer] Yes, and it also shows how one-sided and economically unmotivated the relationship was between the basis agencies and the clubs. The "charitable" agency could have been not only an enterprise, of course, but also a city, institution, social organization, ministry. But the essence was the same in every case: the money grantor received almost nothing in return for appreciable support. The legitimate question is also raised: why did the basis agencies

nevertheless contribute such significant sums to the operation of the competitive system if they received in exchange no service which would have helped them to perform their socioeconomic functions more expeditiously? The explanation is to be sought in the relationship--mediated by personal contacts--between two organizations with different functions. The clubs have elected to the posts of president and department manager those individuals who have a crucial say in the degree of support. The upshot of this form of financing was that the clubs were unable to manage money, only spend it. However, they did not have at their disposal a part of the resources guaranteeing their operation. A good share of the sport-related jobs, bonuses, prizes, and allotted apartments were at the disposal of the basis agencies. And these factors have determined the place of sports directors in the system. They were able to distribute only a fraction of the resources for assuring the operation of the competitive system. For the most part, therefore, they attempted to enforce their concepts and their will only through direct bureaucratic intervention.

[Question] I think this system could have developed sometime at the end of the 1940s, the start of the 1950s, and functioned perfectly for a while in conformity with the conditions at that time. To become a star athlete meant fame, honor, an improvement in the average modest way of life, world travel inaccessible to others. But the domestic citizens also gladly accepted the role of spectator, fan. Perhaps politics had a hand in this. After all, the international successes were suitable for easing tensions, the sports programs for entertaining the people. But I wonder if it is inevitable that under the impact of social and political changes the role of competitive sports is not only reduced, altered, but that a fondness for sports turns into dislike. Today there are many who question whether Hungary should spend any money at all on competitive sports when the available mass sports cannot by any means satisfy the current demands.

[Answer] Although competitive sports and mass sports--or leisure-time sports, as I would prefer to say--are often discussed together, there is no relation between the two in this sense. They operate in different systems, though it is true they can affect each other. I am convinced that tennis has become so popular in the West because clever managers have made it so. The desire was aroused in many people to try to knock the tennis balls around, and for this, of course, tennis courts were built, clubs were created. Many would play tennis in our country, too, if there was somewhere to do it. But getting back to our relation to competitive sports: in my opinion, the chief problem is that in our country no one depends on the spectator and the money which derives from him. From the viewpoint of the clubs' operation and the competitors' income, it is virtually a matter of indifference whether or not there are spectators. Attention was not paid to the latter; rather, the clubs were interested in satisfying the expectations of the main "revenue sources," the basis and sports-directive agencies. For years, for decades, contests in branches of sport described as popular have been arranged for such a paltry number of onlookers that under different conditions it would have led to the liquidation of the clubs and the breakdown of the competitive system. At the same time, it is also true that whether or not the fans turned out exerted no influence on the purity and level of the contests. The feeling of powerlessness and inability to affect the events prompted the spectator to "sabotage" the matches or produced a compulsion to "create scapegoats." The recent construction of several covered halls suited

to accommodate no more than a few hundred spectators proves, better than anything else, that the public has been pushed into the background and become superfluous. Economizing in sports--as elsewhere--has affected the least important element, in the present case the fan. These phenomena also indicate that the capacity of competitive sports to finance themselves has almost entirely ceased even in those branches of sport which attract masses of rooters all over the world. Since the clubs were not interested in "planning out" their conditions of operation, the capacity for self-adaptation was reduced. This, however, is a prerequisite for fulfilling the changing needs and demands of society as well as for successfully pursuing the international "spiral of competition." For this reason, it is questionable whether domestic competitive sports can fulfill the tasks they claim are important, as, for example, assuring diversion, entertainment, cultural enrichment of leisure time, in other words, the political interests linked to the maintenance of international competitiveness. But no matter which task of competitive sports we look at, the spectator is needed for every single one. It is not worthwhile for business firms to advertise at a playing field where there are no fans, and in the absence of spectators we cannot speak about the role of competitive sports in shaping public opinion or in providing entertainment.

[Question] Maybe the question is rather absurd, but in the Hungary of the 1980s is there any need at all to strive--at the cost of material sacrifices--to reduce the degree of shortfall which, it now seems, is steadily increasing between the top international and domestic field?

[Answer] In my view, every country needs high-quality competitive sports, if for different reasons. The experience of events and the magic of simultaneity are shaped in a specific way by the fact that the athletes participate in the contests not as individuals but as representatives of a smaller or larger community: school, club, city, megye, country. Through publicity, often the publicity of television, the athlete's participation in matches, his success or failure, his placement and conduct reflect on--and bring credit or discredit to--those he represents: he can boost their self-esteem or provoke their sense of shame. Competitive sports are an important tool for influencing public opinion, a tool which every country strives to exploit because of its political functions. Many countries have themselves "represented" merely with a nameplate at some significant international athletic events. On the other hand, victory or uninterrupted good performance in international contests such as the Olympics can play a role in molding the awareness of national identity and in speeding up the consolidation which follows social changes. It lends itself to stressing national unity and to building international relations. It has happened more than once that the assumption of political relations between two states was preceded by the joint arrangement of athletic events, by an invitation to the other country's athletes.

The economic relations of competitive sports are also very complex. In those societies in which the entertainment industry has "absorbed" the popular and well-attended branches of sport, the individual sports clubs can operate as independent enterprises. The rise in income and leisure time has benefited industries involved in manufacturing sporting goods and leisure-time apparel. And the more noteworthy international events--since they attract a great many

foreign spectators--can also have a positive impact on the development of tourism. Setting up major international contests requires new investments and means greater business activity. So everyone, from the construction and telecommunications industry to the hotel and catering trade, comes off well. In the capitalist countries, by the way, they receive tax benefits, or contributions by firms for athletic purposes are tax-exempt, and this also means free advertising for them. Finally, competitive sports can create beneficial habits which may have a favorable effect on development of the way of life, on popularization of a modern, wholesome lifestyle. Not to be neglected, either, is the role which first-class sports play in social mobility, since the outstanding competitor--no matter what his family background--can rise above the ordinary, financially and in moral recognition.

In some form or other, our country can adapt any one of the elements just listed to its own circumstances. In my opinion, the economic advantages of competitive sports should be better exploited. If we arranged more international contests than at present, we would create for ourselves good foreign tourist propaganda, since the spectators coming here can take Hungary's good name along with them throughout the world. And if we want to place competitive sports' financial, organizational and personal-interest system on new foundations, we must in any case take into account the economic and commercial factors which can motivate each enterprise's contributions to and investments in sports. The precondition for this would be, of course, that we make allowance for the Hungarian spectator. By keeping his interests in mind, let us draw nearer to the international spiral of competition in which we have lagged far behind in recent years.

[Question] What do you mean by international spiral of competition?

[Answer] On the one hand, the business world in the economically advanced countries discovered the possibilities--mainly economic--hidden in competitive sports, and competitive sports also benefit from their link to business life. The effect of this mechanism is to increase performance tremendously. On the other hand, there are countries in which primarily the political functions of competitive sports are exploited, which likewise encourages the country to maintain its international competitiveness. Naturally, the relationship (which rests on powerful and mutual advantages) between competitive sports and the economy can also serve to assert the political interests linked to this sphere. The place occupied in the competition spiral depends, of course, on the country's traditions, political preferences, economic development, size, and load-bearing capacity. All things considered, Hungary is currently in a very unfavorable position. The function of and the conditions for the operation of competitive sports within a national framework differ from the demands of the international spiral of competition.

[Question] And how can the international spiral of competition display itself?

[Answer] In the rapid improvement of performances, in the accelerated substitution of competitors, in the "youth" wave--in some branches of sport the star competitors are of high school age--in an increase in the number of countries appearing in matches and, for this reason, in a broadening of the top-ranking fields in some branches of sport, in a change in the balance of strength between nations, as well as in an intensification of rivalries.

[Question] So Hungarian competitive sports have been unable to meet the challenges?

[Answer] There are substantial differences between our competitive sports' first-class level and the international level. This goes hand in hand with the fact that the national first class does not necessarily produce athletes who are competitive on an international scale. Incidentally, this fact has moved the experts to examination and self-examination. Today we dare to state that several branches of sport are in a prolonged crisis. And since we have not managed to halt the process of deterioration in international competitiveness, the opinion has been increasingly accepted that the domestic competitive system is unable to perform its fundamental tasks, either. The standard is low, there is no competition, and the listless contests do not attract fans.

Though established by many, nevertheless hardly any attention was paid to the fact that our competitive sports have been hit by a challenge not only in the international spiral of competition but also at home.

[Question] Do you think that sports no longer have such an important role as in the 1950s? Maybe it is related to changes in the economic system?

[Answer] Both. Compared with the previous period, the political functions of our competitive sports have lost more and more of their significance, and elements much more suited to this have taken over the role in political legitimization. The economic atmosphere has also changed since 1968. And although the system for financing competitive sports was long ago "socialized," that is to say, the state budget--as we already discussed--does not assume most of the financial burdens, the agencies which oversee competitive sports and which are responsible for and interested in their operation were not concerned about finding alternative revenue sources and chose almost exclusively the bureaucratic way of modification. They did not take into consideration that as a result of the rise in the standard of living and the diverse opportunities for advancement, the status of star athlete is no longer as attractive today. This can also be explained, of course, by the rather low level of domestic management.

[Question] The life of every star athlete--no matter how successful--contains a little of the tragic. There is something alarming in the fact that a 20-year-old reaches the zenith, tours half the world, glory and renown are his and then--precisely because of the emphasis on youth, the intense competitiveness--he is forced to take a backseat and becomes a very ordinary average citizen in the majority of cases. It is possible, after all, that he has no other outstanding abilities, and advanced education is lacking, perhaps due to the tremendous amount of training.

[Answer] Our studies have confirmed that teenage competitors in our country are really drained in the so-called age-class contests. At the same time, the children who mature later are weeded out, and an irreplaceable loss is thereby inflicted on quite a few branches of sport. It came to light during our investigations of handball players that there was a scarcity of youths 19-20 years old and 190-200 centimeters in height who, both in age and temperament, would be useful to the team: they had been weeded out previously.

[Question] It is pretty much a matter of chance, naturally, who becomes a star athlete. After all, if a child does not live in an environment where he can be discovered for some branch of sport, then in this respect he is definitely lost. And I think that village children in particular are at a disadvantage here.

[Answer] There is no covered gymnasium in 75 percent of Hungarian elementary schools, and I believe this explains many things. The athlete division classes, which altogether 3-4 percent of elementary school pupils attend, were likewise introduced in those places where there was a covered gymnasium and a sports club nearby, hence in the cities. Moreover, parents of mostly intellectual professions enroll their children in these classes and institutions; they largely prefer to exercise their bodies, not become star athletes. Nor is the situation improved by the fact that the Hungarian system of education and advanced training operates by a preselection in which the students, between the ages of 14 and 18, must demonstrate their suitability and preparedness; otherwise they do not gain admittance to the university and will not receive a degree. Precisely the high-school age class is the most valuable for most branches of sport, but competitive sports and competitive study--since both consume so much time--cancel each other out. In conjunction with all this, I say that it is not worthwhile for us to get worked up over the fact that the sports club sections do not draw from a larger base since, as I mentioned, they do not manage very well with the talented persons already produced. But it is not enough to bring a talent forward; it must also be managed.

[Question] That is true. But a person still wonders how many children as gifted as Andrea Temesvary can live in this country and never become tennis stars. After all, if her father was not a coach and had not acquired--by working abroad--the foreign currency necessary to get the girl going, we would not now have a topflight world tennis player in the person of Andrea.

[Answer] This also proves that sport is a business enterprise to a certain extent--not just for the country but for families, too. In developing a future system this must be taken into consideration, in my view, and private investments should be accepted where possible. Though decidedly disadvantageous from the standpoint of competitive sports, I consider it positive on the whole that today a child can ponder whether it is worthwhile for him to become a star competitor, whether he should undertake the enormous amount of work, the summer training camp, or rather spend the summer holidays with his parents. Naturally, if competitive sports offered broader prospects for making a living, then the situation would be different.

[Question] We still have not spoken about a "thorny" aspect of competitive sports, the authorization or the prohibition of various drugs which stimulate and enhance performance.

[Answer] I am convinced that since we rigorously comply with the prohibitions, this is one of the reasons we have lagged behind in the international spiral of competition.

[Question] So you think that the ingestion of these drugs should be permitted, even at the price of undermining the athletes' health?

[Answer] The international prohibition list grows from year to year. Drugs otherwise used to treat the sick also wind up on the list. There is a drug, for example, which can increase the athlete's endurance because it reduces the period of rest and regeneration necessary between two workouts. I do not believe its controlled ingestion would be harmful, and it would certainly contribute to an improvement in the athletes' performance. I can substantiate this only by the fact that the performance of topflight athletes in some branches of sport has improved so much that it cannot be explained at all by an upgrade in man's bodily/physical condition.

[Question] It has emerged unequivocally from our conversation that many countries in the world build up their competitive sports with material, technical, infra-structural and methodological resources which we in no way can employ. Our current political motivations do not encourage this, either. Nor, obviously, do we in fact want to turn this sphere of life into a business. But what alternative do we have?

[Answer] It should be stated unambiguously that competitive sports cannot manage without state subsidization. However, this would concern mainly those branches of sport which--due to their nature--do not attract masses of spectators anywhere in the world. Others, in turn, could even become self-financing. As I already mentioned, the athlete's entrepreneurial spirit should be accepted, making him interested in improving his performance. The administrative, organizational and financial system would need to be substantially refashioned. Many more international contests ought to be arranged here at home, and the Hungarian spectators should be won back, because in the last analysis the whole thing is (would be!) for them.

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POLAND

GDANSK PZPR CHIEF RATES UNIQUENESS OF LOCAL POLITICAL CLIMATE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 32, 27 Jul 85 p 5

[Interview with Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the KC [Central Committee] Politburo, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Gdansk, by Marek Henzler; date and location of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] It is said that Gdansk is a crisis-producing province.

[Answer] Every province has its own specific character; so does ours. This is not only because it is a coastal province, but also because it has its own specific history, having been created from lands that belonged to Poland before the war, i.e., the former German Reich and the former Free City of Gdansk. By virtue of its location and the history of its population, that hailed from various parts of Poland and from abroad, the local population is more sensitive to dangers emanating from the international situation. Apart from this, Gdansk is a normal province just like any other, perhaps only with more severely occurring disproportions between the development of the production base and the sociotechnical infrastructure. Thus, certain frustrations have arisen, particularly among a significant part of the young people lured here by the shipyards and other major construction of the 1970's: the North Port, the Refinery, the Phosphorus Plant and the like. Young, ambitious professionals counted on the rapid acquisition of a place to live and on better material and essential circumstances. Many were disappointed. I do not share the view regarding some sort of crisis-producing elements, validated by the notion that the protests in 1970 and 1980 had to start here, on the Gdansk Coast. I also believe that there is no basis for the idea that they have to recur here in the future.

[Question] Are Gdansk and its problems central to the focus of the central authorities?

[Answer] We do not feel neglected.

[Question] Your province is the only one granted a field meeting of the PZPR KC Politburo.

[Answer] The central authorities are interested in our province. Not only do they hear us out, but they try to help us.

[Question] The Politburo came, they saw what you wanted to show them, they heard out the local activists and, after a stay of a day and a half, they left. Were any specific decisions made?

[Answer] Not only did they hear us out and meet with the workforces at plants, but we, too, had to hear out our own people. Formerly, we were supervised by the GIT [Main Territorial Inspectorate] and a group of Central Committee employees. What did the local population gain from this meeting of the Politburo? The primary gain, as I see it, was that the myths circulating here and there that the Warsaw authorities did not like Gdansk, that they bore a grudge against the local population, were dispelled. Society also became convinced that the party and government leadership approves of the changes occurring here and that no one begrudges the shipyard workers for their rightful August protest. This was emphasized by Gen W. Jaruzelski in a meeting at the shipyard. It was of great psychological and political importance.

The need was also stated for preparing a comprehensive program to eliminate growing disproportions, utilizing not only local funds, but central funding as well. The party leaders recognized that the Gdansk echelon generally is implementing properly the line of the Ninth Congress, although it is necessary to intensify party work. It was correctly pointed out to us that the stabilization and strengthening of the party's leadership role at the provincial level is not accompanied by the sufficient strengthening of many primary party organizations and the growth in activism of particular party members.

We also must increase our work in other communities, especially opinionmaking communities, as well as among young people, where the opposition, in our estimation, still exerts relatively the most influence. We have succeeded in attaining stability in plants relatively rapidly and successfully. Despite the appeals of the opposition calling for boycotts and strikes, Gdansk workforces are demonstrating common sense and a patriotic attitude. Sporadic outbursts have taken place outside plants, in the streets, but these are marked by less and less activism, as was evident during the celebration of this year's First of May festivities.

[Question] Who is the "opposition" in the province of Gdansk?

[Answer] It is made up of several dozen Solidarity extremist activists, for whom the following are symbols: Walesa, Lis, Gwiazda, the underground activist Borusewicz and some church activists led by Father H. Jankowski from St. Brigid's parish, supported by a group of several hundred persons, generally politically wayward.

[Question] How do you resolve the conflicts evoked by the opposition?

[Answer] Even where there is an open outburst, we exercise great moderation, using the forces of law and order only as a last resort. Sometimes we are even criticized that their intervention has come too late and that it is not severe enough, but we do not wish unnecessary clashes and drastic situations.

Since 1981 on the Gdansk Coast, only one person to date has died from a bullet wound inflicted by a weapon that was not one of those in the possession of law and order forces. This occurred under circumstances that are still unclear today.

The major direction of our activity is political work comprised of convincing people and clarifying their doubts. We want to win them over, drawing them away from the antisocialist forces that had considerable support in 1981 and 1982, including the support of some of the working class. We have succeeded in this, although we still cannot be satisfied, for thus far the work of the opposition has not ceased, and we must continue to expect it.

[Question] Has such a sociopolitical situation in the province led the Gdansk echelon to introduce new forms of party work?

[Answer] Of course, but we always are on the lookout for them. For example, we are sending a group of the aktiv--additional lecturers--into the plants where the situation is the worst, and we also are providing greater training assistance there. During the martial law period, we initiated weekly meetings of secretaries from the largest plants. We have continued them through the present because our comrades believe that they need them. We provide an extensive telex information service for plants and primary level echelons; we publish a KW bulletin, KONTAKT. Unfortunately, these materials are not always used enough. They do not reach all rank-and-file party members; it is primarily the leadership cadre, secretaries and the aktiv that read them.

[Question] At the same time, your studies show that half of the members of the party do not feel that they are well informed about what goes on in Poland.

[Answer] Yes, this is true, in spite of the fact that the committees have these materials. It would seem that nothing could be simpler than to pass them out and have them read.

[Question] Is it possible that the information contained therein is unreliable or that people simply prefer to ask you about certain matters?

[Answer] Sometimes I am of the impression that people already have received information on the matters they ask about, but they wish to verify this information and so they request additional comments.

[Question] To what extent are the results of the studies of your Center for Information, Analyses and the Programming of Party Work utilized in party work? The fact that the authorities did not know what happens at the bottom is cited as a reason for the crisis. Today it would be difficult to explain the average citizen's lack of familiarity with the realities of life. The research conducted by your center paints a quite pessimistic and alarming picture.

[Answer] There is more information than there was in the past. On the other hand, I cannot agree that the picture our studies painted was pessimistic. In such studies, as a rule, positive elements are ignored and negative ones are

emphasized so that they may be counteracted. This sometimes creates a black picture.

[Question] But what if that is the real situation?

[Answer] The situation is complex. When we see problems or irritations arising in some plant, we send a group of comrades there and study the reasons behind them. Recently, for example, we assessed the situation at the KLIMOR Refrigeration Equipment Plant, where various problems sparked a protest and some workers refused to accept their pay.

[Question] Are there many such protests? Under the current legal restrictions, this is a certain yardstick of workforce tensions and moods.

[Answer] No. Recently we have noted a considerable decline in them. This is the result of an improvement in the situation, especially the market situation, and the work of the economic administration, the organs of employee self-governments and trade unions.

[Question] Your party Center for Information and Analyses surveyed dockworkers. Of those surveyed, 68.8 percent defined their material situation as poor or rather poor and 74.7 percent gave a similar assessment of their housing situation. Workers still do not consider themselves co-managers of their plants; they see that social conditions are worse, and that work organization and discipline are worsening. This affects their mood.

[Answer] Indeed, wages in shipyards are low in the opinion of workers when compared with their expectations and their needs, although in the Gdansk Province they are still among the highest. There have been many changes for the better; however, this does not produce an immediate change in society's attitudes. Much is being done at the shipyards to counteract this. The wage system has been transformed into an incentives system; housing was one of the more important topics discussed at the Gdansk Politburo meeting. There are opportunities for some improvement in the situation in this field as well.

[Question] The results of the study entitled "The Party in the Workplace" are indicative. This study shows that party members sense that they play too small a role with regard to the management, that places more importance on the opinion of superior authorities than on the opinions of employees and organizations.

[Answer] This is changing as party organizations, self-governments and trade unions increase their activism.

[Question] After the loss of two-thirds of the membership in recent years, this year, the number of those admitted into the provincial party organization has begun to make up for current losses. But the statistics do not tell the entire truth, i.e., that barely every fifth POP [Primary Party Organization] has admitted even one candidate.

[Answer] Unfortunately, this is true, although last year the KW [Provincial Committee] Executive Board obliged every POP to accept at least one candidate.

[Question] Such a resolution made by the upper echelon somewhat calls to mind the preceding decade's limits set on party admissions.

[Answer] That is absolutely not so; it is primarily a question of the quality of the candidate, but we likewise are concerned about having some sort of yardstick to measure POP work. For if we achieve support and trust, if more and more nonparty individuals join in our activities, then this should be accompanied by their entry into the party as well. If no one joins, then it may be presumed that our party resides only in the sphere of words and resolutions. Thus, for the KW, new candidates are a yardstick measuring real work in the POP.

[Question] Half of those employed in the province have not joined the new trade unions. Despite the resolutions of party authorities, every third member has failed to join the unions. This does not speak very well of party discipline.

[Answer] In some sense that is true, although recently there has been a significant increase in the "unionization" of working people, including PZPR members. But this situation is not only a matter of discipline. Such facts also are in evidence in the KLIMOR Plant previously mentioned, where every third party member does not belong to the unions. Only they work in various Tri-City plants. They do not encounter resentment because they are party members, but are told that they should not join the new "regimist" unions. IN some plants, including shipyards, many people still sympathize with the former unions and exhibit a great lack of confidence in the new ones. During my conversations with workers I often hear that they will wait and see what the new ones do. This shows, above all, the great disenchantment of working people and the loss of confidence in the former trade unions, including Solidarity. Thus, we all must still do a great deal more to enable the new trade unions to acquire authority.

[Question] In the spring, deliberations of the KW plenum, devoted to party cadre policy, were held.

[Answer] In our estimation, it is generally conducted properly. On the other hand, the work being done with preparing new cadres is inferior. Despite the many personnel changes made in recent years in the province, many managers still should be replaced. These are the recommendations from our latest cadre reviews.

[Question] Then why are these changes not taking place? Is there a shortage of candidates?

[Answer] There is no special drive to reach the cadre reserve; moreover, few candidates enter the directorial competitions. Usually there are three to five, of whom two or three remain after the selection is made. This is disturbing.

[Question] Perhaps many assume beforehand that they will have no chance on the lists against party candidates.

[Answer] Not necessarily. I would say it is rather that the competitions still have not gained their rightful place and popularity. There are also psychological barriers. Many good specialists do not wish to get started because they consider the competition to be an auction and they believe that participation in it is an attempt to depreciate their worth and value.

[Question] How are candidates recruited for the cadre reserve? How many nonparty members are in this reserve?

[Answer] They are nominated primarily by party organizations. About half are nonparty members; however, of those that go considerably further, the majority are PZPR members. This shows that our party cadre is a decent one. We also have many nonparty directors with whom it is possible to work well. Sometimes problems arise, for example, some of them believe that they ought to be independent from everyone, and particularly that they should not belong to a trade union. We are attempting to correct the theories of so-called total independence through training and discussion. At present it is rare for a director, even a nonparty director, not to be a trade union member.

[Question] Before December 1981, heated ideological discussions were carried on in the Gdańsk party organization. The various groups mutually charged each other with deviating from the principles. Do these discussions continue, or have "wings" been clipped effectively?

[Answer] I would not say that they have been clipped effectively. Life and the difficult conditions of recent years have caused the line of the Ninth Congress to gain the broadest support and these "wings," in a sort of natural way, have stopped being as apparent as they were in the past. The polarization of views from that era has lost its severity. This does not mean that it does not enter here and there.

As the new KW leadership (for that is what we are called here sometimes), we have tried from the very beginning to link and unite all party members in the province, assigning them tasks. For you know that there is no better method than to give work. When someone is radically inclined in one direction or another, let him go to a meeting with workers, speak with them and persuade them to accept the party's program--there is really no better medicine. I know many of these people personally and I know that they are filled more with rhetoric and cutting statements than with views of the party line that are really different. This does not mean that I treat them with disdain. This program, however, has been successful. Many comrades have undergone radical transformations; today they give us solid support in the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress.

[Question] Have they abandoned their views, or are they too awaiting the campaign preceding the next (the 10th) congress?

[Answer] I expect a relapse into certain views to take place, creating some problems. I believe that all such discussions should be based on specific phenomena. We should not permit discussions "in general" of whether the party is revolutionary enough, for example, or regarding who is a liberal and who is a dogmatist or the like. This leads nowhere.

Recently I attended a meeting with a "caustic" aktiv in Gdynia where I was asked why there are crosses and religious emblems in buses. I asked them brutally whether they, my comrades, thought I personally would go and take them down or would send out the militia. Silence. [I told them] that they were the aktiv, that they should go and talk with the secretary in the depot, with bus drivers, with the administration and with the aktiv. We issued directives that, in accordance with the law, there should be no crosses in public means of transportation. I also went to a plant in Gdynia. I entered the auditorium: a cross was hanging there. Comrades, is this supposed to be in a state plant? I asked. Everyone looked away. What concern of mine is such revolutionary activity for show, when it is there in my committee hall? No one has to convince me that no crosses are supposed to be present in public places, I know that. But valid principles must be implemented in accordance with the law by people, by party members, by individuals that are responsible for law enforcement in the particular work sectors.

[Question] Once the concept was operative that the party should lead and the government should govern. Who leads and who governs in the Gdansk Province?

[Answer] That is a slogan from the 1970's that did not pass the test then and, in my opinion, never will pass it. The party must be the leadership and the leading force everywhere. In the province the practice is that we define our position on specific matters; then we invite the provincial governor or the vice governors, likewise the ZSL and SD representatives, to a meeting of the KW Secretariat or Executive Board. We even hold individual discussions. We give our position, we listen to the position of the administration and then we arrive at joint decisions that the administration executes and we check up on. At the provincial level, we do not have controversial problems. These arise in enterprises where there are clashes over authority between the director, the plant committee and the employee council and, sometimes, even the trade union added to this. I believe that there is one party line and that every member, in his position, within the framework of his authority, ought to implement it, regardless of where he works: in management, on the committee or in the social organization.

[Question] And who makes the decision regarding activities undertaken against planned outbursts of the opposition: the provincial governor that, as head of the Provincial Defense Committee has specific powers, or the KW first secretary that is responsible for the political situation in the province?

[Answer] A third person, the head of the WUSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs], in Gdansk, makes that decision directly. We assess the situation, make political decisions, prepare a program of counteraction and then the appropriate heads of the particular units implement it. For example, the WUSW chief ensures public order and directs law and order forces, depending upon the development of the situation. No one prompts him regarding where he is to use them, how he is to use them or how many he is to use. This practice has been tested by us.

[Question] Western broadcasts reported that there was a counter-march here on 1 May.

[Answer] There were no counter-marches here. There was a group that tried to enter a high school youth march and, following the march, disrupted public order in Wrzeszcz. It included various people, primarily young people and very young people, students, secondary school students, workers and also those that worked nowhere and came from outside the Tri-City area: people that still were disoriented, often good workers, sitting quietly in their plants, but in a crowd susceptible to provocative slogans. Before the march, we could have held more people that were planning to disrupt it, as a preventive measure. This would have reduced the destructive outbursts of the enemy or would have eliminated them entirely. Over the long term, however, this method does not yield the desired effect. We believe that only through political activities and winning the support of working people is it possible to isolate political enemies and likewise to ensure that mass demonstrations proceed properly, including the First-of-May March. Nor is what Walesa said true, that the First of May was blue from the multitude of militia uniforms. Had this been so, their small group would not have been able to enter our march, which was more numerous than ever before.

[Question] During the KC Politburo meeting in Gdansk, it was stated that party members in this province "work under difficult, extremely frontal conditions." How are we to understand this "frontal" position?

[Answer] This concept arose during the period when the center of the Solidarity extremist camp was located here, since it is here that various antisocialist activities were born.

[Question] Does this front still exist?

[Answer] In a certain sense, yes. Certainly, of all the provinces, ours is one of the most difficult. By this I do not mean that other comrades in Nowa Huta, Wroclaw and Warsaw have no problems.

[Question] It so happens that the largest enterprises of the Tri-City area--the production shipyards and the Polish Ocean Lines--show a deficit of billions of zlotys.

[Answer] The shipyard deficit emanates primarily from the method of computation. Shipyards operate primarily for export and whether they show a profit or not depends upon how we figure the dollar. Shipyards are assembly enterprises and the final cost of acquiring a dollar includes the output of many others that already have brought billions into the budget previously on this score in the form of various allowances and taxes and have already obtained considerable profits.

[Question] The shipyard deficit surely impacts shipyard worker earnings. Hence their opinion that their material situation has worsened.

[Answer] It has no substantial impact, since shipyards receive corresponding tax reductions.

[Question] Sometimes it is said that these subsidies are forced not by economic circumstances, but by political circumstances.

[Answer] In my opinion, the notion of political subsidies is invalid. As a result of the 1980-1981 events, we must make up for lost time today in order to fill contracts concluded earlier. Perhaps only in this sense is this political money, but not in the sense that there is the desire today to buy shipyard workers with it. Contracts for ships were concluded under other circumstances, with completely different shipyard production costs and domestic coproducer costs. The calculations made at that time could not anticipate this, and the delayed corrected rate of exchange did not cover costs.

[Question] What is the future of our shipyards?

[Answer] I believe that it is good, that they will develop to the advantage of our country. Thus, those that return to the old appeals regarding the "plowing under" of the shipyards, cutbacks on their production, the restructuring of their production structure or their liquidation are incorrect. This would be absurd. This is our national industry, supplying a considerable sum of indispensable foreign exchange. It enables export, in the form of ships equipped with much Polish machinery and equipment that probably no one would buy from us if it were not mounted on ships. Moreover, let us admit sincerely, except for coal, sulfur or copper, what do we have to offer the wide world on such a scale? Of course, one could point to enterprises whose production is less energy-intensive and materials-intensive, that today attain an even more favorable foreign exchange conversion index, but one also must ask how much foreign exchange the given enterprise supplies to the country by comparison with these shipyards.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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POLAND

CC COMMISSION MEETING ON SELF-GOVERNMENT

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jul 85 pp 1-2

[Article by Jadwiga Mikolajczyk: "In the CC Commission: Cooperation Between Self-Government Bodies"]

[Text] Workers' self-government is an important element in the sociopolitical system of the country. It is an institution permanently inscribed in the strategical line of the party. The 1 July meeting of the Central Committee's Commission for Representative Bodies and Self-Government was devoted to the assessment of the activities of the workers' self-government bodies, and of their cooperation with the People's Councils and the cooperative self-government. The meeting was chaired by Wladzimierz Mokrzyszczak, alternate member of the Politbureau, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Workers' self-government currently operates in 6,387 enterprises with total employment of 5.5 million. 131,800 people are active in 11,200 employees' councils. Workers prevail in the employees' councils, and their number has gone up during the ongoing election to the second-term self-government bodies. Elections have already been held in 39 percent of those enterprises where self-government operates.

In the introductory statements by Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the Central Committee's Socioprofessional Department, and by Jerzy Breitkopf, head of the Office of the Chairman of the Council of State, as well as in the following debate, the accomplishments of self-government were depicted, and directives were set for those activities on which party organizations should focus in order to enhance the development of self-government. Some progress was noted in the cooperation between all the organizations active inside the workplaces. Wherever the party organization is closely linked with its worker base, self-government and trade-union bodies work better, and their cooperation is better too.

While the diversity of situations in various enterprises was emphasized, attention was drawn to the danger of bureaucratization of self-government and of its being thrust aside to the margins of enterprise life. The need to continue the joint training of self-government, management, and trade-union cadres on the operational principles of self-government was raised in this context (intervention by Anna Bienkowska). Zenon Szulc and Stanislaw Baranik pointed

out that such training should also involve practical matters. Self-government bodies should be included in the process of decision and document preparation: it frequently happens that they are simply given the already prepared stuff and asked for their opinion.

Comrade Andrzej Erdman emphasized, that the only way to prevent bureaucratization and inertia in self-government leads through development of its activities from the top to the very bottom, to workshops and shopfloor. The prescription for constructive activity involves direct links with the workforce, providing it with information and consulting it. The same theme reemerged in other interventions, concerned with the activity of tenants' self-government and co-operative self-government. The activity of the commissions for self-government, appointed by all the People's Councils, was recognized as the main platform for cooperation between the self-government bodies; it was pointed out that the pattern for such cooperation, conforming to the letter of the law on the councils and on the self-government system, is just being elaborated. Such commissions should provide the forum for exchange of experience and for cooperation.

Some problems raised during the debate were summed up by Comrade Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, who stressed, *inter alia*, that party organizations should concern themselves particularly with the close links between self-government and trade-union organizations and the workforce, with familiarizing the workforce with the enterprise's affairs, and with promoting cooperation at the basis level.

The Commission voted a communique on its meeting, which includes many fundamental themes raised during the debate. According to the Commission, self-government constitutes an essential element in the development of social activities and involvement, as well as in solving economic problems. The development of self-government is a major element of motivation for initiative, and thus for economic and social progress. Enhancing self-government according to the law raises the effectiveness of workforce's impact on the development of the enterprises, conforming to the socioeconomic targets.

Elaborating this theme, it was stressed that the People's Councils should play a major role in coordinating the actions of workers' self-government and co-operative self-government bodies.

In the second point of the agenda, the plilitico-organizational principles of parliamentary elections were discussed.

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POLAND

UPCOMING SEJM ELECTIONS FEATURED IN TALKS

Kubiak At Election Program

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 2

[Article by Jolanta Zajac; TRYBUNA LUDU report]

[Text] How can we elect the best deputies to the PRL Sejm? What should be done to make the electoral system a reflection of the democratization of life? How can we convince the greatest number of citizens that they can and should become involved actively in discussions about issues pertinent to the nation and the state, that they should act for the good of the state? A plenary meeting of the PZPR Krakow Committee was held on 25 June to answer these questions.

KC [Central Committee] Politburo member Prof Hieronim Kubiak took part in the deliberations, which were chaired by KK [Krakow Committee] first secretary, Jozef Gajewicz.

Both in the report and during the discussion it was stressed that the elections campaign should facilitate the establishment of direct, permanent ties between the voters and deputies elected from the body of candidates.

The dissemination of knowledge about the electoral law and the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] electoral declaration will serve this end. Wladyslaw Kaczmarek, KK secretary, said that attention should be directed towards young people as one of the basic pillars for strengthening national understanding.

Andrzej Kozanecki, first secretary of the UJ [Jagiellonian University] University Committee, devoted the major part of his address to problems of the university committee. He stated that Sejm elections are an opportunity for taking a serious look at ourselves and the problems of Poland.

It was noted that, in addition to the making of a thorough assessment of the moods that prevail in particular communities and the exercise of speed and consistency in overcoming problems that occur, the personal commitment

of party members is especially important for the success of the campaign. Ryszard Bak, deputy chairman of the Krakow PRON Council, pointed this out.

Prof H. Kubiak addressed these problems. He stressed that winning over nonparty individuals to the party's program will guarantee the success of the elections.

The resolution that was adopted defined the tasks of party organizations and the party members working in PRON to prepare the elections.

SD Role in Sejm Elections

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] The electoral campaign to the Sejm and the participation of the Democratic Party [SD] in this campaign was the subject of a 26 June meeting of the SD leadership and SD activists that are members of the PRON National Council.

In the discussion, which was led by Tadeusz Witold Mlynaczak, SD CK [Central Committee] chairman, it was pointed out that the development of PRON is a positive element in the implementation of the program of the SD and the resolutions of this year's 13th SD Congress. It was stated that the broader the scope of the process of national understanding, the more effective the implementation of SD tasks. Only dialogue with society can ensure adequate work efficiency and mold the social consciousness to meet the requirements of civilization at the threshold of the 21st century. It also was stated that, both now, during the period preceding the elections and during the entire time of the working of the movement, the SD has perceived the activity of PRON to be one of the important elements for strengthening the coalition method of exercising authority.

The discussion addressed the contents of the documents of the 13th SD Congress, especially those statements that state that, in implementing democracy in the socialist Polish state, the SD envisages its guarantees in the strengthening of the Sejm's role in the system of state authority. The general suggestion made in almost every statement concerned the need to disseminate broadly the contents of the PRON electoral declaration (after its adoption), that serves as the foundation of nationwide discussion over the crucial questions of Poland's development. (PAP)

Pre-Election Press Seminar Held

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] On 25 and 26 June, under the patronage of the Sejm marshal, a seminar organized by the PRL SD Club of Parliamentary Reporters and devoted to issues related to the approaching Sejm elections was held in Warsaw. Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski presented the sociopolitical situation of Poland at the seminar. Sejm Vice Marshal Piotr Stefanski spoke on recommendations emanating from the seventh term of the Sejm; Jerzy Jaskiernia, PRON RK

[National Council] general secretary, devoted his address to the electoral declaration and the elections calendar. Deputy Edward Szymanski, director of the PZPR KC Office of Sejm Affairs, discussed the rights and duties of deputies against the background of Sejm activity during the last term and plans for the future in this area.

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POLAND

CONFERENCE ON GDANSK TRIALS FOR FOREIGN PRESS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] "Legal Aspects of Gdansk Trials" was the theme of a conference for foreign press organized on 10 June 1985 at the "Interpress" Press Center in Warsaw. Participants were: director of the Penal Affairs Department of the Ministry of Justice, Zenon Jankowski; chairman of the National Lawyers' Council, counsellor Kazimierz Lojewski; judge Przemyslaw Mackowiak from the Institute of Forensic Law Research; and press spokesman of the Minister of Justice, Andrzej Cubala.

In answer to questions from journalists from such sources as FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, FINANCIAL TIMES, and TIME MAGAZINE, on the subject of the Gdansk trials, it was stated that Western media try to create an atmosphere of sensation. In their coverage published abroad the facts are being tendentiously and misleadingly distorted.

For these reasons only, as well as to ensure greater concentration of attention on the trial itself, the Gdansk Court--as was emphasized--did not allow the Western reporters to be present at the trials.

In the published reports there also is often found an imputation that "the accused were prevented from using their right of defense." This is an unfounded imputation. The accused, A. Michnik, W. Frasyniuk, and B. Lis, were ensured every possible right of defense--they were defended by eight lawyers and were at liberty to acquaint themselves with the overall evidence, upon which, incidentally, they made comments in the Western press even before the trial. They were ensured, moreover, repeated contacts with their counsels both before the conclusion of the judicial inquiry, before the actual trial, and during the trial itself.

The next matter is the presentation of "statements" by the accused. In point of fact, the trial law establishes a definite order of acts over which the presiding judge is to watch. This law calls, among other things, for questions to be asked such as whether the accused admits his guilt, and whether he wants explanations and what kind, to present in connection with the offense prosecution has charged him with.

The accused did not take advantage of this right and refused to present explanations. On the other hand, the Polish trial law--as was emphasized--

does not provide for a possibility of presenting by the accused the "statements" or "political declarations." The accused in the Gdansk trials did not want to present explanations in connection with a crime they were charged with, whereas they express a strong wish to make exactly such "statements and political declarations."

It was recalled that one of the counsels for the defense made a motion for the "exclusion" from the case of two officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who tape-recorded a conversation with B. Lis. That tape--as was emphasized--is the evidence in this case and is subject to the opinion of the court alone. The Polish penal code does not rate evidence as "better or worse," or as "admissible and inadmissible." On the other hand, it clearly prohibits dismissal of the motion of evidence, even when the already proven evidence demonstrated the opposite of what the counsel wants to prove. This is regulated by Article 155 of the Code of Penal Proceedings.

During the press conference the same attitude was taken toward behavior of counsels for the defense in the Gdansk trials. The counsels made statements to foreign press representatives which suggest the judges' ignorance of regulations for legal proceedings. This, to put it mildly, shows a lack of good manners and a breach of legal ethics, and should end up in the disciplinary lawyers' court.

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POLAND

PSEUDOSCIENCE CRAZE ASSAILED IN PZPR ORGAN

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 p 6

[Article by Bronislaw Treger, "Astrology--And Something More: The Devious Paths of Irrationalism"]

[Text] The wave of irrationalism--here and now--has turned into a flood. Drowsers, parapsychologists, bioenergy, healers, clairvoyants, telepathics, telekinetics, UFO-logues, astrologers--those are just some better known representatives of the paranormal society. Everywhere they are the talk of the town: in radio and TV, in dailies and popular magazines, in numerous pamphlets, lecture notes, and books, even those brought out by state-owned publishing houses. They set up associations which organize a plethora of conferences and courses, congresses, symposia, and seminars. In short, there can be no justification for the ongoing pooh-poohing of their impact on public opinion.

Ideological struggle against irrationalism can be successful if, and only if, one always keeps in mind that the scientific view of the world equals modern materialism, which organically combines philosophical doctrines, economics, and scientific socialism. Of major importance, then, is proper interpretation of the term "scientific socialism," for a proper introduction of the critique of irrationalism as well.

The Social Roots

Such a critique must, above all, consist of pinpointing the social roots of prevalent irrationalism: in the ocean of poppycock, presented in allegedly scientific terms, one has to spot ideas concerning social life, the causes which determine its changes, man's place in society and the laws which shape his fate, and subsequently to proceed and expose the reactionary--when all is said and done--character of such images. Obviously, they should not be exposed in a schematic manner; this should follow from an analysis of their stuff and be supported by many skillfully selected specific facts. The social critique of paranormal pseudotheories should be closely linked with criticism based on the achievements of natural sciences; it should revoke arguments directed against such pseudotheories by our contemporary materialistic natural scientists, regardless of their attitude toward Marxism.

The scientific outlook is the guardian of all that is most valuable in the tradition of the Enlightenment, bequeathed to us by the then propounders of materialism. The overwhelming part of contemporary literary representatives of petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie have renounced this heritage by entering into spiritual alliance with the heirs of the Middle Ages.

One should not neglect to expose frauds perpetrated by occultists and their ilk. The recently famous bender of spoons from afar, Uri Geller, was unmasked, for sure, as a common cheater. But the denunciation of frauds can obviously be treated as a secondary measure only, since--as Engels wrote over 100 years ago--"Spiritists do not mind at all, if hundreds of alleged facts get exposed as swindles, or dozens of alleged media unmasked as common impostors. Until every one alleged miracle be exposed on its own,, spiritism would retain some ground."

There is another, extremely effective (though most difficult in operation) weapon against irrationalism: ridicule. It was superbly mastered by our plebeian literature at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, which poked fun at astrology and astrologers. Astrology is probably the most widespread form of irrationalism as far as the scope of its influence is concerned--and its impact is unremitting. Widely circulated evening papers print horoscopes; there is virtually no almanac without horoscopes. For instance, in a 1985 almanac, published by KSIAZKA I WIEDZA in a run of 4 million copies, one can read under the 24 July dateline: "Leo. Leo is magnanimous and generous, staunch and loyal toward his friends and subordinates, so long as they are devoted to him and acknowledge his superiority. Leo trives on a community of sycophants." And so on--till the year's end.

The above quoted example provides a good instance of mass production of horoscopes. For sure, one might claim that all such happy creativity is nothing but "fun and games," that it should not be treated with such a deadly seriousness, nor ring alarm bells on its account. Well, perhaps, were it not for the widespread character of this phenomenon, were it not for its amounting to a first step which leads to something much more distressing. I have in mind the so-called scientific astrology, which recently has stirred major commotion. A classical product of this science in "The Mandala of Life: Astrology, Legends and Reality" by Rafal T. Prinke and Leszek Weres, published in two volumes by the Poznan branch of KAW [National Publishing Agency].

I do not wish to be misunderstood. In no way do I suggest imposing some administrative constraints on astrologers and their writings. That would be all we need! Even today astrologers complain to all and sundry that there is a top secret ruthless conspiracy against them to prevent them from propagating their obvious truths, which do not admit a shred of doubt and are absolutely confirmed by experience. Imposing any kind of restraints would allow them to bask in martyrs' glory; they would use every opportunity to proclaim they were being prosecuted--like Giordano Bruno by the Inquisition.

I would prefer, however, to see the party publishing houses consistently toe the party publishing line; astrological literature can just as well be brought out by others. "The odds are staked," Professor Andrzej Kajetan Wroblewski, the well known physicist and critic of every kind of paranormalcy, said in an interview granted to POLITYKA. "'Back to the Earth', our 'Anti-Daniken', had a run of 15,000 copies, while Daniken's 'Memoirs from the Future' were published twice, each time in 30,000 copies. To go on: 'The Bermuda Triangle' by Niekrasz had two runs of 50,000 copies each, while the Kusche book which makes short with the Triangle myth, was issued just once, and run to 30,000 copies only."

What is the message conveyed by both journalistic and scientific astrology? It is not all that hard to guess: the direction in which the fate of man--and thus of the society as well--is going to evolve, to a large extent does not depend on earthly causes. Wealth of some and poverty of others, for instance, are caused by celestial bodies, and men have no power to change the situation. According to the authors of "The Mandala of Life", "Data are conveyed from the core of the galaxy to the solar system by means of gravitational waves, even though we do not know as yet how it happens. The solar system reacts as a transmitter by retransmitting those waves, but only when the planets are located at corresponding angular distances which correspond to the frequency of gravitational waves, and are thus able to shape the aggregate resonance in order to receive the cosmobiological message. A tiny part of this message, which somehow involves men, is revealed to us, albeit in a simplified version, as a cosmogram (horoscope) which expresses the man's fundamental psychophysical structure." (Vol 1, p 78).

Pseudoscience As Weapon

Astrological conclusions are justified by cosmological chatter, overflown with pseudoscientific hype. Astrology draped in the stately garb of science becomes more high-spirited and more aggressive, impudently assails the enemies of mysticism and frequently in this clash takes the offensive. "We assume therefore that our Galaxy is organized according to a cybernetical pattern, even more complex than man's neural system. The transmission of data from the core of the Galaxy to the Sun as the natural focus of our system, would therefore look as follows: the activities of the nucleus of the Galaxy are encoded in the gravitational waves as a characteristics information: gravitational waves reach the core of the solar system and produce an activity which corresponds to the information transmitted." (vol 1 p 75)

The above mentioned physical "hypothesis" makes as much sense as the famous historical "hypothesis" encapsuled in the following ditty: "When Kara Mustapha, the Grand Master of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, led his armies over the Alps toward Cracow..." Do not let us deceive ourselves. Those pseudoscientific "hypotheses" are nothing but pulling wool over simpletons' eyes. In any case those in the know are well aware of what really matters. Messrs. Prinke and Weres proclaim in their book: "As we

recall from the previously presented hypotheses, the placement of the planets in our solar system determines, or at least codetermines, the character of energy messages conveyed to us, or else the characteristic traits of the given moment and of all that evolves from it. At this stage we must explain however that the notion of 'energy' as used in the following text, is wholly conventional for lack of any other, more appropriate definition, and does not correspond to the same notion used in physics. (vol 1 p 86; emphasis added)

No Lack of Arguments

Another question should be recalled as well: "The history of one experiment," the authors of "the Mandala of Life" dolefully complain, "over 20 years by now the Gauquelins' heroic struggle for recognition (they were supposed to prove the authenticity of astrology through statistical research--B.T.) and the distribution of by now thousand pages of monographs and research papers, confirmed through independent research done by unsympathetic scholarly teams from countries other than France, unfortunately reflects sad discredit on the more orthodox part of the scholarly community." (vol 2, p 99) It is a most sentimental story, but as it often happens to maudlin stories, it has one tiny fault--it swerves from reality.

In a most critical introduction to a pseudoscientific book which deals with "cosmic factors and their impact on our lives" (G.L. Playfair and S. Hill, "The Celestial Cycles," PIW [State Publishing House], 1984, p 12) Andrzej Kajetan Wroblewski writes: "As it happened, the Gauquelins' hypothesis was never confirmed, since the frequency of births of athletic champions 'under the sign of Mars' in its key aspects does not differ from that projected on the strength of statistical fluctuations, and amounts to 13.5 percent, with a margin of error of 3.5 percent either way. The authors claim therefore that the 'Mars effect' does not obtain among U.S. athletes. The same collection (Prof Wroblewski deals with papers written by critics of astrology, included in the book 'Paranormal Borderlands of Science', Buffalo, 1981--B.T.) includes a paper by John McGervey, who had analytically researched the dates of birth of eminent scholars and statesmen (over 23,000 persons in all.) Neither among scholars nor among statesmen did he discover any statistically meaningful effect of predominance of birth under any given sign of the Zodiac."

As one can see, there is no lack of arguments to expose astrologers. But--and this should be spelled out--one should harbor no illusions: until a society in which class divides would be but vague recollections is actually built, irrationalism will continue to reemerge, in one form or another.

Nonetheless, the struggle against irrationalism by no means amounts to tilting at windmills. It is one of the fronts (albeit not the most important one) in the spiritual struggle for a new society. Nothing in this struggle should be neglected.

POLAND

OPZZ COMMITTEE RESULTS ON COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jul 85 pp 1-2

[Text] What are the effects of the more than 5-month long negotiations concerning the draft law on collective bargaining? What do trade unionists think about the conceptual variants of the 5-year plan, and about the premises for the next year's Central Annual Plan? Those were the main problems on which the Monday meeting of the OPZZ Executive Committee focused.

It seems that the trade unionists' efforts to introduce as soon as possible the new collective bargaining labor contracts are now approaching a successful finale. The new draft law is nearly ready, and compares favorable to its original version. Differences of opinion on 3 essential questions still remain to be settled. These divergences were presented by Waclaw Martyniuk on behalf of the trade union group on collective bargaining.

Unlike the government party, the trade unionists think that collective bargaining regulations should be mandatory. That conforms to the economic reform principles, because in practice it means setting up minimum wage rates and supplementary benefits for various trades, provided that they would not raise the inflow of state budgetary financial outlays to the enterprises.

The mandatory character of those regulations would also oblige the enterprises to get concerned with the entire complex of such essential problems as, for instance, workers' leisure, conditions of work, occupational safety and hygiene, and many other problems derived from the labor contracts. They would be specified and extended through negotiation of enterprise contracts.

The trade unionists are also of a different mind, as far as the ongoing operation of the law on enterprises wage system is concerned.

Assuming the need for a uniform source of law, they suggest that the above-mentioned law should become an integral part of collective bargaining.

No consensus of opinion has been reached as yet concerning the supervisory powers of the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs over the conformity between negotiated labor contracts and the principles of the state's socioeconomic policy.

The trade unionists believe that, once the legal validity of labor contracts had been confirmed, the exercise of such supervisory powers would be, at best, necessary with regard to the National Socioeconomic Plans.

It was finally decided that the trade unionists' position, supplemented by the results of the Monday debate, would be presented to the government as soon as possible, to enable the Sejm to further debate the draft collective bargaining law during its present term.

In the second part of the debate major attention was focused on the results of the consultation concerning the multiple-variants conception of the Socioeconomic Plan for 1986-1990, and the next year's Central Annual Plan. It was pointed out that this consultation had drawn much more interest in the trade union organizations than the last year's one. The trade unionists, however, addressed their remarks not to specific variants, but rather to the economic and social problemms involved. In this respect they considered improvement in housing construction, education, environmental protection, and health, as the most important issues.

"The submitted conception of the 5-year plan is socially not persuasive enough, and the motivation factors are too vague," Maciej Manicki said on behalf of the OPZZ Economic Commission. It does not spell out the economic development directives nationwide.

The trade unionists pointed out that, for instance, the recent years not only had not changed the structure of the industry, but even tended to strengthen it. They had misgivings about the distribution of investment funds. They claimed, *inter alia*, that the barriers which limit economic growth and consequently the chances for fulfillment of social demands, may be removed only through mechanization and automatization in the industry, through export-promoting investment, through modernization of the technological processes, increased production of consumer goods, and halting environmental degradation. Among many other motions submitted during the debate, members of the Executive Committee overwhelmingly opposed any lowering of the social shield which at present protects honestly working workforces.

In the next few days the consultation results will be submitted to the Planning Commission.

The Executive Committee then accepted the OPZZ platform concerning the task of science in the socialist development of the country.

POLAND

TRAINING OF ARMY DIVERS, FROGMEN DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 May 85 p 3

[Article by Naval Lieutenant Jerzy Zalewski: "Before They Even Go Into the Water"]

[Text] It is warm, clear, and cozy in the building where the swimming pools are located. Peace and quiet reign here and everyone walks around in soft footwear. The floors are polished here to such a shiny finish that it is hard to believe that theoretical and practical training in a difficult specialty goes on here year-round without any interruption. Young sailors and soldiers from various branches of our armed forces, who are undergoing training at the Polish Army's Divers' and Frogmen's Training Center - because it is here that the swimming pools are located - become familiar with diving equipment and learn how to act correctly both in the water, as well as under its surface.

While I was visiting the youngest sailors from the platoon commanded by Frogman Second Class, Naval Engineers Lieutenant Marek Buczkowski, I witnessed their most recent descent into the pool in all their diving equipment and the execution of all of the steps indispensable for them to know in the event that any of the possible accidents occurs while they are performing underwater tasks.

During the first phase of training, the young sailors became acquainted with the many theoretical problems associated with the construction, servicing and preparation of their diving equipment. In mastering this information, the sailors learned how to actively dive wearing masks and fins and utilizing SCUBA equipment. They learned how to dive without breathing and reach a certain depth quickly.

Speed and haste, however, are not the key points in the training of these specialists. In fact, the principle is: Every frogman is on his own in gaining confidence in the equipment with which he dives. He has to convince himself that he is threatened by nothing under the water if he acts according to his maintenance procedures and diving regulations. Say what you will, but this specialty, like flying and engineering, does not allow for bravado and daring behavior.

Daring, a positive trait in every soldier, is also found in frogmen, but it has to be based on reflection and the solid knowledge gained from the field of underwater activity. Every diver knows, (and this is required of them), what, when and how he has to act lest his life be threatened by danger.

After a briefing by instructor and expert frogman, Commodore Second Lieutenant Andrzej Dobrzynski, who has 17 years of experience in this specialty and has spent thousands of hours under the water, and a discussion of the principles of today's practical exercises, the trainees are divided into groups of three. The group has one diver, one dresser and one who keeps watch over the diver from the surface.

After carefully checking diving suits and equipment, the sailors of the group commanded by Frogman, 3rd Class, Senior Sailor Waldemar Maciejewski, proceeded to get ready. A majority of the trainees have completed frogman courses in the water clubs of the National Defense League and are continuing their learning enthusiastically. Several of them will be excellent specialists in several months.

Right now, the trainees are standing in two ranks. Officers and the exercise director are carefully checking the equipment and are making sure that it has been put on properly.

Everything is in order. The sailors, who are in their diving suits and somewhat weighted down by their oxygen tanks, approach the table behind which the platoon leader is seated.

"Citizen Lieutenant, I report the readiness of frogman, Sailor Slawomir Litwicki, to descend into the water."

Lieutenant Buczkowski, who during today's exercises is also performing the duties of time-keeper, records in a special book the sailor's name, equipment number, diving suit and the time he goes into the water. This book is the basic diving document.

The first into the pool is the squad leader. The platoon instructor is already in the water. He is Frogman, 1st Class, Ryszard Klimek; he watches closely how the following sailors get into the pool: Wieslaw Baginski, Mariusz Cichocki, Piotr Eitner, Piotr Plonski and Slawomir Litwacki. Klimek also observes how the sailors act in the water.

At the recommendation of the instructor and exercise director, the sailors practice controlled submerging and surfacing. The air is good and the equipment is working right. The young men raise their right hands and give the okay signal. This signifies that everything is in order and that they can go on to the execution of the other parts of the exercise.

"We train on two levels," says the training director. "The first group of three goes deeper and will swim on the bottom, the next divers will be three meters above them. All perform the same movements. Under the water, senior Boatswain Klimek will introduce typical problems and accidents which can occur during daily usage of the equipment."

The underwater activity of their colleagues is observed through portholes by the sailors of a back-up group. One of them stands by the safety valve. This valve is one of a series of safeguards against an incident under the water. If everything else fails, the valve is turned and several cubic meters of water from the pool will disappear in just a few seconds. Those vigilant at the portholes and safety lines are charged with protecting the divers against accidents.

Minutes pass. Air bubbles burst on the surface with a quiet noise while swimming silhouettes can be seen under the surface. Every now and then, one of the divers swims to the surface with an air regulator that has been twisted by the instructor. This is a planned accident with the purpose of teaching the diver how to act in such real-life situations. After surfacing, the frogman has to know how to breathe from the air while he repairs his equipment to continue with his underwater task.

After having performed all the training goals envisioned by the plan for both under the water and on the water, the exercise director gave the signal to surface.

The young students climb out of the water tired, but in good spirits. Their colleagues help them take off the heavy air tanks and the tight-fitting diving suits. During the exercise critique, the exercise director and the instructor point out what the frogmen did right and what they did wrong. The sailors listen very attentively to what these people say. Indeed, Commodore Second Lieutenant Dobrzynski is an accomplished expert and teacher. During his 17 years of service with the Polish Army's Divers' and Frogmen's Training Center, he has trained several thousand young students in the art of underwater swimming and many people competing for frogman, 2nd, 1st and expert class.

It is time to rest after the emotional experience underwater. During the break, I talk to sailors Adam Wojciki and Krzyksztof Siekierski.

Sailor Wojcik states: "We still have several months of training ahead. There is a lot for us still to learn both in diving and mining operations. From day to day, thanks to our instructors, lecturers and all our officers, we are gradually becoming real divers and we believe that after several weeks we will complete all courses with a "well-done" rating and acquire the rank of 3rd class."

It seems that the sailors who this month gain an average evaluation of 4.20 and higher are awarded the title of squad champion. If the squad champions score higher the following month, they become platoon champions. Squad champions are recognized with a 2-day pass while platoon champions can be promoted to senior sailor.

Sailor Siekierski confides: "I made it to squad champion. This title and the motivation to excell continued to push me during the next month to try even harder to learn so that I could be awarded the title of platoon champion. I am now waiting for the promotion, but I am not working so diligently for only the promotion or the title alone. Knowing that I will be performing the duties of a frogman in the future, and not so distant future, I am trying to

get all the learning I can during the course work and walk away from the practical training with all the possible experience I can gain from my instructors and the other frogmen."

Two trainee champions told me before they went back into the water that: "Things are going well for us during the course. Our officers are doing literally everything for us to become good specialists and disciplined frogmen who are capable of not only diving in different waters, but also of accomplishing every combat mission and work project."

The young sailors' words are sincere and correct. All the lecturers and instructors of the Polish Army's Divers' and Frogmen's Training Center are accomplished experts and instructors; they are people who can properly pass on their great wealth of experience both in their specialty and in life itself.

12247
CSO: 2600/807

POLAND

EDUCATION, PROFESSIONAL ISSUES VIEWED AT TEACHERS' UNION CONFERENCE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 2

[Report by Rem: "Teachers About Themselves And About School"]

[Text] One and a half years have passed since the 23nd Conference of the Polish Teachers' Union. At that conference, many important decisions were made not only about union issued but above all about the need to improve the functioning of our educational system, which suffered considerably from underinvestment in the 1970s and later as a result of the socio-economic crisis.

What has the union done since then? On June 11 a National Conference of the Polish Teachers' Union was held in Warsaw. A report by the Union leadership was presented to delegates, who evaluated the Union's past activities and discussed proposals for nearest future. The fact that this is the first mid-term conference in the union's history indicates that the union members, who are estimated to be over 450,000 now, are very much interested in what is being done to improve and develop our education system.

In this report, Kazimierz Pilat, chairman of the union's Board of Directors, called delegates' attention to the fact that the union has regained its strength and that is dealing with the Ministry of Education it has a strong partnerlike position, which was evidenced by a cooperation agreement between the Ministry of Education and the union's Board of Directors signed last year.

After a consultation with teachers, the Board of Directors took a stand on the national education system, suggested the ways of its modernization, and initiated a nationwide debate among teachers on the future of education in Poland.

While discussing problems and weak points of the education system, K. Pilat dwelled upon teachers' financial situation and their social standing. The union wants the Teacher's Chart regulations to be fully observed. More specifically, criteria must be defined for comparison of teachers' salaries with those of technical staff in the national sector of economy. Teachers' salaries must be actually comparable with those of technical staff. This, however, will be possible only as late as 1986 when new classification codes for those working in the national sector of economy are introduced.

The Union supports demands for maximization of basic salary and an increase in bonuses for school principals. It also categorically demands revalorization of pensions granted before May 1, 1972. Those pensions are paid to the oldest and most worthy Polish educators.

At the conference, Minister of Education Prof. Dr. Boleslaw Faron also took the floor and reviewed current problems of schools and teachers. Every year the population of students increases by 120,000 to 150,000. In spite of shortages of teachers and premises, in spite of insufficiency of school textbooks and aids, which are not always controllable by the Ministry, working conditions in schools have not deteriorated and the level of learning has not been affected. In 1990 there will be 1,3 million more students than in 1980.

Therefore, in spite of higher education expenditures, new investments, ever increasing editions of school textbooks, a greater number of educators, an improvement is hardly discernible. It can, however, be felt in the better results achieved by schools as the number of students repeating a class has dropped.

The Minister also discussed at length the need to raise the standard of teachers' education as well as valorization of teachers' salaries to take place later this year, which shows that the government is consistent in observing the regulations of the Teacher's Chart. The government is planning to allocate 70 percent of the amount earmarked for this year's revalorization of teachers' salaries for increases in basic salaries. A proposal to this effect has been presented to the Board of Directors of the Union. Salary increases this year will also include non-teachers working in the education system.

Finally, the speaker stressed that the social prestige of the teachers is dependent not only on their working conditions and financial situation but also on their attitudes and behavior, their attitudes toward their work, their students and students' parents, and fellow teachers. In other words, teachers' professional ethics must be preserved. The Ministry has begun working on formalizing such a code.

Among the conference guests were, inter alia, PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bendarski; Prof. Jarema Maciszewski, chairman of the Sejm Committee on Education, Science, and Technological Progress, and Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of union affairs.

12607
CSO: 2600/851

POLAND

RULES FOR CZESTOCHOWA PILGRIMAGE LAID DOWN

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Jul 85 p 6

[Text] In Czestochowa recently there occurred a conference of representatives of departments responsible for public order, communication and transportation, producer goods management and trade and the functioning of municipal and community services. Priests and religious representing the episcopal curia in Czestochowa and authorities of the Jasna Gora monastery participated in the conference.

The conference was called to discuss organizational, technical, communications and supply problems related to the coming period of increased pilgrimages to Czestochowa.

In connection with the pilgrimage season, the secretariat of the primate of Poland--as has been officially announced--has approved new rules for pilgrimages, emphasizing that they are an integral part of religious worship in Poland.

The new rules strongly emphasize the spiritual nature of pilgrimages, stating among things that "participants in a pilgrimage are motivated by spiritual impulses and take care that the pilgrimage's spiritual character is observed for its entire duration."

In addition, the rules provide that:

--every participant in a pilgrimage must have a recommendation from his pastor or priest;

--smoking, drinking alcohol and co-educational accomodations during a pilgrimage are prohibited;

--participants in a pilgrimages may not have banners or emblems besides those "that denote a particular group and have a clearly spiritual content."

The rules recall that the leader of a pilgrimage is named by a competent church authority, and that observance of the rules and the ban on violation of the spiritual nature of a pilgrimage are binding on pain of dismissal from it.

12776
CSO: 2600/856

POLAND

SOCIO-POLITICAL BOOKS FEATURED BY PUBLISHER

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jun 85 p 4

[Text] Socio-political books were the subject of a meeting organized by the People's Publishing Cooperative.

Noted were several titles that have appeared recently in the book market in small runs of several thousand and which will undoubtedly interest readers. Included are "Wspolna polityka rolna w dokumentach PZPR i ZSL" [Joint Agricultural Policy in Records of the PZPR and ZSL] by Kazimierz Chlopiecki; "Sojusz robotniczo-chlopski podstawa porozumienia narodowego" [The Worker-Peasant Alliance as the Basis of National Understanding], containing reports and statements from the popular science symposium devoted to the historical and contemporary problems of the alliance of both classes; "Polityka rolna panstwa socjalistycznego" [Agricultural Policy in the Socialist State] by Jerzy Rosinski; "Zwiazek Mlodziezy Wiejskiej 1957-76" [The Union of Rural Youth 1957-76] by Edmund Tomaszewski, in which the author describes the formation of the central organization of rural youth in the years 1956-58; "Mlodziez w okresie przelomow" [Youth in Time of Crisis] by Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, containing discussions of the status of youth in times of socio-political and economic crises and their influence on the formation of the personality of young people.

The cooperative's publishing plans include continuation of the "Poets' Library" series. In 1985 the poetry of Jozef Czechowicz, Jan Goczal, Jerzy Harasymowicz, Victor Hugo, Jan Kasprowicz, Stefan Napierski and others will be published.

The public printing house this year will begin publishing the series, "Portraits of Peasant Writers." First in the series is "Stanislaw Młodozeniec" by Stanislaw Burkot, revealing the writer's literary creativity and social activity.

Biographical books to be published are "Korczak z bliska" by Kazimierz Debnicki, "Siemiradzki" by Jozef Duzyk and "Przybyszewski" by Stanislaw Helszynski.

12776

CSO: 2600/866

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG CITES DAILY ON CEAUCESCU 20-YEAR CELEBRATION

LD231455 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1256 GMT 23 Jul 85

[Romania: "Ceausescu Epoch" Celebration -- Tanjug headline]

[Text] Belgrade, July 23 (TANJUG) -- The celebration of the "Ceausescu Epoch" characterizes Romania's current internal political activities, and is an occasion to celebrate the party and state leader as the nation's father and the greatest figure in the country's history, the Belgrade DAILY POLITIKA writes today.

The country's independence and sovereignty are set out as the major achievements of the 20-year-long "Ceausescu Epoch", POLITIKA writes. Economic difficulties are not skirted, but special attention is devoted to Romania's achievements at the international level, with emphasis on its "equality-based cooperation with all socialist countries".

The observance of the 20th anniversary of Ceausescu's leadership has several aspects, the daily notes. Firstly, POLITIKA writes, it has a character of political mobilization at a time when Romania faces a discrepancy between ideas and the reality. Although Romania currently faces elementary economic difficulties, it is, under the new and ambitious plans, to join the most highly developed countries of the world by the end of the century.

The celebration of the "Ceausescu Epoch" is also an occasion to underscore the country's achievements to date. POLITIKA writes, and notes and comparisons of the country's present with its past are far more frequent than comparisons with other countries.

The continued repetition of the country's internal and foreign policy principles, affirmed in the past 20 years, is evidently aimed at manifesting the continuity and steadfastness of Romania's independent orientation in pursuing its own road to socialism, POLITIKA points out.

CSO: 2800/395

YUGOSLAVIA

OUT-MIGRATION OF TRAINED PROFESSIONALS CAUSE FOR CONCERN

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1796, 2 Jun 85
pp 12-16

[Article by Aleksander Ciric]

[Text] The brain drain, which is quiet and mainly based on a personal risk, is continuing without a halt. Hundreds more of educated Yugoslavs, convinced of their ability to contribute to the ultimate triumph of the third industrial revolution, are joining the body of 12,000 of them who have decided upon that strategy since the war. Yet all the figures should be taken with a healthy dose of mistrust. Although the brain drain [in English in original] is a worldwide phenomenon with a stoutly based tradition, few in Yugoslavia have concerned themselves with gathering figures of this kind.

By contrast with certain other transfers (athletes in particular) the transfer of scientists takes place in complete silence. It is estimated that about 5,000 highly educated specialists went from Yugoslavia to the United States in the sixties and seventies; according to American statistics, in just 4 years (1969-1973) almost 1,000 of them, whose education meant an investment here between \$12,000 and \$25,000 "per head," went from Yugoslavia to the United States.

Srdjan Nikolic, a 34-year-old biophysicist, who is now an assistant professor at the "Albert Einstein" Medical School, decided to make a visit to New York in 1982. Now that he has 3 years' experience in one of the best-known laboratories in the world for cardiovascular research, he feels that the attitude toward scientific work there is the specific difference which will always attract people:

"In Yugoslavia people often talk about the adverse aspects of 'the race,' which in the United States is the normal way of going about things. But they often forget that here there is no race at all."

Compared to a situation typified by the saying "whether you work or not, the radio still plays," [the pun on the word "radio" is untranslatable], Nada Malbasic-Dimitrijevic (31), doctor in physical chemistry, who herself will soon be going off for postdoctoral studies in the United States, believes the most important thing in deciding to leave is the desire to test one's own abilities.

The Brain Fair

"A person in science is able to determine his abilities and get his bearings only when he is on the scene of events," he said. "Here one simply loses the criteria for comparison as time passes. It seems to me that I am still young enough to make a try at it, to see what I can really do. That is my primary motive."

Most of those who decide to leave, along with those we spoke with, make contacts of that kind with distinguished scientists, heads of world laboratories and department heads, at international scientific meetings. These brain fairs offer the most favorable opportunities for personal contact and for learning about work done in the past, projects which have been done, and results which have been obtained. Even when the offer comes by mail, the answer in the form of an invitation to come and work, to do doctoral or postdoctoral work, comes quickly. Especially when the candidate meets the very precise criteria for scientific work, which, and this is most important, are in effect and are respected.

There is another equally popular method of leaving. More and more frequently our specialists who have taken part in official exchanges and those who have been sent by the appropriate institutions for study or advanced professional training more and more frequently decide in favor of going abroad. According to the published figures, every year 15 (out of 400) of our specialists remain in the United States; approximately one-fourth of all students extend their visit for an indefinite period. However, there are no precise figures on the actual number of specialists who decide upon this step. Since by definition they are engaged in activities which represent or explicitly presuppose return of "scientific manpower," science communities and institutions for international cooperation keep no records on such cases at all. Another contributing factor is that the home organizations of those who have extended their unscheduled stay abroad usually record such cases as uncompleted official travel, unpaid leave or a unilateral termination of the employment relation.

But regardless of the type of advanced training it finances, the Serbian Republic Science Community, according to Tatjana Petkovic, has no real insight into their result. The reports submitted to the community by those who have received the funds are usually formal in nature. Finally, there are disturbing figures on the pattern of advanced training obtained in a recent analysis of the last 8 years. Since 1977 the community has invested more than 15 billion (old) dinars, one-third of it last year along, 1984. Yet the average length of advanced training paid for with this money has been cut in half over the last 8 years: from 63 days per specialist in 1977 to only 34 last year. Moreover, the share of visits longer than 3 months (which presumably would produce some greater benefit than scientific tourism, has dropped from 14 percent to only 3.4 percent). At the same time the share of visits shorter than 1 month, in which 1-week periods of "advanced training" predominate, has increased from 21.8 to 45.6 percent!

This kind of narrowing of the possibility for "legal" advanced scientific training, or at least for effectively keeping up with events in a particular

field, certainly has an impact on the decision of some of the scientists to remain abroad once they have dug in or to go there at their own risk. Dr Ivo Baucic, a world authority on migration, considers domestic unemployment to be the primary factor in the outflow, but he also mentions the better opportunities for earnings abroad. It is interesting that all those we spoke to either did not mention earnings as a motive or listed it after the opportunity for scientific affirmation and for staying in the mainstream of their field, which Dr Baucic also respects. However that may be, the loss to the country from the out-migration of specialists belongs in the inestimable category, and that in two senses. The question is whether a scientist's departure abroad is a measurable loss if his staying here would have meant an unemployed or fictitiously employed scientist who is spending at least one-third of his working hours attending meetings. Dr Zarko Papic, president of the Republic Committee for Science and Information, finds it a frightening figure that in the period between 1978 and 1982 the number of persons in scientific activities, as they are recorded by statistics, has dropped by 200. That means that the scientific potential is being lost. At the same time, a specialist's departure is a real loss of the resources invested in his education, resources amounting to about \$200 million for the 11,000 such persons who have gone abroad since the war. If only half of them fully realize their work potential in the countries they have chosen, we could add another 3-4 billion, again in dollars, to the amount above.

Yet all those we spoke to consider the last figure fictitious or exaggerated:

"That is perhaps the size of the gain of the countries they are working in," Srdjan Nikolic says. "But what kind of loss is that for Yugoslavia if those people would not have produced anything if they had stayed here?"

A Whitewash

The beginning of the true brain drain out of Yugoslavia dates from the mid-sixties, and to a certain extent coincides with the discontinuation of the federal scientific institutions that had existed up until that time. Some of them (like the institute in Vinca) were world leaders in their field at that time. In the years that followed the trickle of resources of the republic scientific communities dried up both in nominal terms and by the law of inflation. Science was compelled to "establish links with the economy" regardless of the nature of its activity; the institutes became agencies for managerial wheeling and dealing, for "wheedling" funds, and for conducting the most varied other jobs, among which the "scientific" support of mistaken undertakings in economic policy is only a painful recent example. The closing down of the scientific institutions which had already become independent, the "division" of the market and the creation of firm hierarchical structures within organizations constitute only the logical consequences.

All of these circumstances could have operated only as an incentive for departure, as indeed they have. Especially upon those for whom waiting for better times would mean not only a loss of time and a lag difficult to make up, but even for all practical purposes the abandonment of any serious scientific work at all. The brain drain became an everyday phenomenon which has hurt the

fundamental sciences most seriously, if not in terms of money, certainly in terms of importance. For the sake of clarity, those are the sciences which furnish the sole basis today for any serious development in the future.

Where Things Are Happening

"Some of my colleagues went abroad immediately after they finished school," says Nada Malbasic-Dimitrijevic. "They went to work on their doctorates or they took them and are not coming back. We who defended our dissertations here are only now getting in motion. Another group is made up of a somewhat older age group which spent 3 or 4 years abroad and came back. Most of these are now scrambling in every way to go again. The simple fact is that less and less can be done, and life is getting worse and worse. The stated principle that 'we need science' has remained at the level of a declaration. At least as far as the fundamental sciences are concerned, that slogan has no relation to reality at all."

The migration of gray matter is a phenomenon of global proportions. Every year at least 50,000 of the best-qualified specialists of the Third World moved to the advanced countries of the West. It is estimated that that siphoning is worth a gain of \$1.5 billion for the latter. The departure of a trained physician, for example, (about 150,000 of them are now working outside their own countries, half of them in the United States) represents a loss for the native country of about \$38,000 invested in his education, while the host country realizes a gain of about \$600,000, the value of a physician's product during his working life.

The United States is the largest world consumer of scientific manpower: it also heads the list of countries which have received the largest number of our scientists. Between 1977 and last year 625 specialists went there through the Serbian Republic Scientific Community, which is one-fifth of their total number. Great Britain is nearly as popular; with France, West Germany and the Soviet Union they constitute the "big five" which received three-fourths of all those who go off for advanced training through that community. Except for the Soviet Union, there is good reason to suppose that those countries are also the ultimate goal of all those who decide individually to leave and do so at their own expense.

The impression that they have a real opportunity of advancement in their own work or field is dominant in all those who think about leaving or are already abroad.

"In America you jump right into the heart of things. They throw you into the center, and you swim. A postgraduate student engages in scientific research and has no time to feel exploited more than he felt here," says Srdjan Nikolic.

The adaptability and openness of the large corporations, especially since the first wave of the information revolution passed over the world (or at least a part of it) with a roar, is becoming a necessity for survival. As noted by the economist Burton Klein, "the large enterprises are often responsible--

insofar as they are responsible at all--for great progress within their industries." The giants are compelled to enter the race by the fact that according to the findings of the American National Science Foundation "small enterprises invest about four times as much money for every dollar in research as enterprises of medium size, and about 24 times more than large firms."

Organization

The American demand for capable personnel, in which a certain advantage is given to a European university education, fits quite nicely into the situation we have sketched; the Americans themselves admit that the principal studies are considerably better in Europe, and that specialization in industry is broader than in the United States. Lola Stefanovic (30), a computer hacker [in English in original] employed at "Pupin," confirms this opinion, believing that quite a variety of things are studied in our universities, which affords a solid basis for practical work. Yet there is no debate about that.

"I am convinced that the brain drain from Yugoslavia is not so much a problem of technology as a question of organization. The poor organization brings us to a complete halt. We are trying to make our own hardware, which is the way to learn something, but it is utterly nonsensical to base any development on the production of hardware. There is no way that we can compete either in the investment of funds or in production efficiency. It is a notorious fact that IBM has no competition in the field of the 16-bit computer and the whole world is making IBM-compatible computers and concerning itself more or less only with design. The software market for those computers is immense, and software is where the money is. Today people ultimately decide on a computer and choose one on the basis of the number and variety of programs offered for it. Put another way, we should produce what we are capable of, software; we should intelligence, not export intelligent people."

Having opted for that choice, Hungary in just 1 year became one of the best-known world exporters of software for the Commodore 64. In that same period of time the investment was made so that every school and every club for young technicians could furnish itself at least one computer in order to move on to reaping the profits. For the sake of comparison, in 1983 some 12 Yugoslav producers had 10 different licenses and 13 other contracts concerning industrial cooperation in the field of electronics, in which bookkeeping machines, accounting machines and word processing computers dominate. The idea of achieving efficient cooperation at the Yugoslav level in this field belongs--to put it crudely--in the field of science fiction, although it is clear to more or less everyone that the present situation leads nowhere except to a further lag.

The generation of kids growing up in Yugoslavia or who have already grown out of their smuggled or legally imported "Sinclair" or "Commodore," however clever they might be, might quite easily be lost. The case of the 15-year-old who sold his videogame to an English manufacturer still belongs more to the domestic mythology we have mentioned than to anything we could seriously count on.

"It is one thing to make a game, and something quite different to offer programs for economics, to solve problems in construction, business programs, data base applications," says Lola Stefanovic. "For such things you have to be familiar with the market. And we neither have a domestic software market, nor is anyone seriously studying the foreign demand, which these kids of ours could satisfy with relatively little effort. Given that kind of poor organization, we will continue to lag further behind, and people will continue to leave. A revolution has taken place before our eyes, and we are still begging our friends to bring us scientific journals from abroad!"

The Chinese Way

Yugoslavia is no exception among the underdeveloped countries. It should be especially emphasized that it is precisely those countries which have been most hurt by the movements of intelligence, since four-fifths of those moving to the West come precisely from the Third World. Those countries have been trying to restrict or at least control in various more or less effective ways the brain drain, which is immense in other terms than dollars. Some native countries pay for the tickets of those thinking about coming back, they provide a job and the kind of income they have abroad, they offer possibilities for unhindered scientific research. Of course, few underdeveloped countries can advertise the call to come back in such an expensive way. Our southern neighbor Greece did decide on that variant.

The Chinese, who more and more people in America believe are thinking at least 15 years ahead in this respect, are solving the question of the brain drain differently. The selection of specialists for advanced training takes place in China and the Americans agree that they will not pay those people to stay. The Americans, as in the example of adaptation of the large corporations to the dynamic movements of contemporary technology, are not accommodating China on the basis of humanitarian motives. The technological impact achieved over the long run on a potential market like China belongs in the domain of very concrete gains.

In our country these problems have to be resolved in the united way, since, as those we spoke with said, there is only one council of science. Over the next 5 years, of which Dr Zarko Papic says that they must be years of radical changes for Yugoslav science as a whole, will demonstrate whether the present conceptions are productive or not. A sizable growth of resources for science, replacement of outdated equipment with new equipment, more effective organization of the network of scientific institutions and efficient use of equipment are among the activities planned. Others are the coordinated operation of the academy of science, universities and economic chambers in conducting a talent search and providing the conditions for developing that talent.

The return of those who have left the country in the meantime will by all appearances be the most difficult goal to achieve.

Accordingly, the moment for personal concern comes when the number of acquaintances and friends who have decided to live abroad becomes larger than the number of those with whom one still associates with at home.

[Box, pp 12-13]

Dr Dragoljub Milicevic, engineer at the "Mihajlo Pupin" Institute: "How To Keep Them Here"

Since it is he who creates and achieves all scientific and technological advances, we have to frankly ask what the society around us is doing to stimulate his work and creativity? The honest answer is: very little.

Our scientists, specialists and skilled workers are in greater and greater demand on the international labor exchange. The advanced world knows, though we may not be aware of it, that Yugoslavia possesses exceptional and creative specialists, careful workers and good organizers. They also know that the long-standing depression of wages and the drastic real drop in the standard of living are driving them to the subsistence level and putting a low value on their services. Unfortunately, this process is taking place, and our best minds and most talented young specialists are more and more seeking a solution for themselves and their families in the advanced world.

There should be an organized fight for them. How to keep them?

If we are to be able to answer this question, we first have to identify some of the causes of this phenomenon. It is altogether arbitrary and basically oversimplified to say that we will hold on to our specialists by a unilateral increase in their earnings. Absolute earnings certainly do represent one of the most important motivating factors, just as it is valid to assume that a technological rebirth cannot be accomplished when specialists are poorly paid. However, there are also other reasons which are equally important.

Here we are referring above all to the fact that in our society /there has been a general decline in motivation as a widespread and dangerous reaction to the devaluation of work in general and especially creative and productive work/. [Material enclosed in slantlines italicized in original] This results in a reestablishment of work process whereby there is more and more idleness, slower work, lack of motivation and apathy.

The drop in motivation is a reflection of the fact that people's material and social position and social status very often are depending less and less on their ability to work and their performance. Everything is based more and more on other deviant things such as speculation, additional occupations and jobs, private work during working hours, bureaucratic protection, and even overt and covert crime. This has an especially adverse effect on the young generation, on the army of our promising specialists who move from the universities to the labor exchanges, thereby losing faith in work as a qualification that applies everywhere.

Success in work, regardless at what level, must be evaluated and respected as a key element in formation of social status and attributes. Only under such conditions is it possible to tap the energy for creativity and work of our 800,000 specialists and apply it to a general and technological renaissance.

There is yet another important reason, if not the most important one, for the decline in motivation to do creative work, and that is the exaggerated external technological and technical dependence and the marginalization of our own process of science and innovation. If it is now clear to everyone that at this point of our development we are unable to furnish an adequate money reward for the work of our technical intelligentsia, if we cannot guarantee them that they will quickly solve their housing problem, the only thing that we can offer them is to work on challenging and important projects where their creative potential will be displayed. This guarantees a sense of social usefulness and rekindles the revolutionary spirit from the period of our postwar renewal.

The excessive technological dependence of our economy has led to the absence and atrophy of our own research and innovative process and an exaggerated representation of routine work and high repetitiveness at all levels of the work process. In such a situation specialists seem superfluous, and engineers move into the trade sector and agencies, the abilities of master builders wither away, and research and creative talents wither in the performance of commercial deals. This relationship can be deliberately turned around by applying a unified strategy and technological development for the whole country and authentically relying on our own scientists and specialists. Emancipation from the excessively dependent position in the international division of labor is the only sound development strategy concerning this important issue of motivating our working people, as it is in other domains.

[Box, pp 14-15]

Dr Zarko Papic: "The Last Chance for Changes"

Dr Zarko Papic, president of the Republic Committee for Science and Data Processing, has not been keeping abreast of the problem of the brain drain solely because of his official position. The fact which we must acknowledge, he feels, is that the departure of scientists in Yugoslavia is being influenced by all those factors which make that phenomenon a global tendency. Yet specific features of our situation can be singled out:

"The ever worsening conditions for scientific research over the last 15 years are the main reason. This situation is well known and has been evaluated several times already: the decline in the role and importance of science, the deterioration of the material conditions, and, above all else, the restrictive policy applied to scientific research. Only in the last 2 years has a beginning been made at urgent assistance in the form of injections of financial resources. It is early to speak of a stabilization of the situation, although there are signs that the process of the lag is slowing down a bit. Last year's investments in equipment amounted to about \$6 million, which is an exceptional growth by comparison with the earlier years, when this item was only slightly above zero. However, the needs continue to be considerably greater. Given that gap, the question of providing dinar resources and not only foreign exchange is now being posed in the most serious terms."

[Question] It is thought by some that equipment and scientific research are not the primary problem; supposedly certain scientific institutions possess

supersophisticated equipment which they are not able to operate. Also the level of utilization of the existing equipment is intolerably low as compared to world standards.

[Answer] One can probably find institutes which have relatively good equipment. However, looking at the statistics, the level of depreciation of equipment in scientific research organizations is higher than the level of depreciation of equipment in the economy, which is a paradox in itself. Equipment is an essential component of any scientific work, and that makes the figure on its depreciation all the more alarming. That is why its replacement is a priority task for which additional funds have to be provided in the shortest possible time. If I might state the matter in simple terms, in 15 or 20 years our modern equipment will not be needed. The assessment about the underutilization of existing equipment is accurate. Development plans over the next 5 years must foresee ways of resolving that question as new equipment is purchased. Some of the planning documents will constitute a program for rationalizing the network of scientific research organizations. Some breakthroughs have already been made here, but the program has to also guarantee optimalization of equipment use.

[Question] What does this have to do with the program for reducing the outflow of personnel abroad or the program for returning the specialists who are already there?

[Answer] I have to say that that is a question which is being resolved at the level of Yugoslavia. In that sense we have taken the initiative to establish uniform conditions for the training of scientific research personnel in the country. The initiative has been taken up, but the debate has not taken place. At the level of the republic we need considerably better organization, and among other things this means that we should designate those international centers which will be our point of support for training personnel and define the immediate forms and ways of bringing in foreign specialists. Finally, but not least important, we should establish ways of actively employing our scientists in carrying out projects within the country as the first step in the process of their return. Of course, this will depend decisively on providing the appropriate conditions for their work. Here we get back to the question of equipment and funds for projects and working conditions, which must at least approximate those which they have abroad.

[Question] What are the real prospects of actually beginning such extensive changes over the next 5 years?

[Answer] I am convinced that those will be years of radical changes for the development of science, technology and data processing in Yugoslavia. I am fully aware of what I am saying, since it is no longer a question of some leadership having finally grasped the importance of science, but of the operation of objective circumstances, of concepts which have been adopted in the long-range economic stabilization program, of the simple operation of economic laws. At the intersection of all the factors which are operative, our policy in this domain can be only to open the doors wider to those processes. Of course, I am not deluding myself that the policy of radical changes will be

accomplished in pure form. The obstacles are great and independent of our will. One thing is certain: over the next 5 years the development program envisages a growth of the funds for science from the present 1.35 percent to 2.2 percent of the national income, and that without the additional funds I have been talking about. This can be an indication of the changes which are to come.

[Question] Would the metaphor of catching the last train be suitable to illustrate the situation of science just in advance of adoption of the medium-term plan?

[Answer] Precisely so. My conviction that the changes will take place is based on the strong impression that those are the last 5 years in which they can happen at all. After that there will no longer be a last train.

7045
CSO: 2800/370

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY TELEGRAMS NICARAGUA ON REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

LD191043 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1017 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG) -- Nobody has the right to undermine the national sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and the autonomous, autochthonous and free development of Nicaragua, the President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee states in its telegram to the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), sent on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the victory of the Sandinists revolution.

The telegram points out that the LCY opposes all forms of aggression against or interventions in Nicaragua, and that it fully supports the sovereign right of this country to independently decide upon its own social system and development.

LCY pays tribute to FSLN which, in spite of numerous difficulties, has been carrying out the demands of the Nicaraguan people. The Sandinist revolution would have achieved even greater success were it not for the permanent activity of counter revolutionary forces and attacks on Nicaragua's security, independence and territorial integrity from abroad, the telegram says.

Denying the right to the Nicaraguan people to decide on its own destiny is a breach of the basic principles of international relations and the U.N. Charter, the LCY Central Committee Presidency states in its telegram, adding that all this is even more so since pressures on Nicaragua are mounting in spite of protests by the whole progressive and democratic public, and the fact that the Contadora Group has worked out realistic and acceptable proposals for resolving the crisis in Central America.

CSO: 2800/395

YUGOSLAVIA

BALTIC SPEAKS AT KORDUN UPRISING COMMEMORATION

LD211703 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0925 GMT 21
Jul 85

[Excerpts] Vrginmost, 21 Jul (JANJUG) -- A people's rally and a formal session of the presidium of the LC conferences of the Community of Municipalities of Karlovac and Sisak and the Presidiums of 17 Municipal LC committees in the area of Kordun, Banija, Pokuplje, Zumberak, Gorski Kotar and Bosanska Krajina were held in Abez forest near Vrginmost today on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of liberation and victory over fascism and 44th anniversary of the historic party conference in Abez forest at which the decision to start a national uprising in Kordun was passed.

The days of the historic conference were recalled at the people's rally and formal session today by one of the people who took part in it, Milutin Baltic, member of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia and member of the LCY Central Committee.

At the beginning of his speech Milutin Baltic described the social and economic conditions in which the strong and well-organized Communist Party of Croatia [CPC] was active in the area before the uprising.

Particular stress was laid in the speech on the betrayal by the bourgeois political parties at that crucial moment of collapse of old Yugoslavia and the occupation and on the historic role played by the CPC headed by its central committee and Secretary Rade Koncar, who, Baltic stressed, consistently implemented Tito's policy of preparing for the armed uprising.

"Despite Macek's betrayal and the efforts by Stepinac and the leadership of the Catholic Church to prevent the national liberation struggle, the CPC succeeded in mobilizing the broadest people's masses in Croatia for the liberation struggle. Five national liberation army corps comprising a large number of partisan detachments and other military units were set up," Milutin Baltic said.

Despite all this there are today individual self-appointed writers of history who are trying to give an inaccurate description of the policy of the CPC and its Central Committee at that time. Apart from untruths about the activity of the CPC in 1941, these same people are trying to exploit the

case of Hebrang to accuse the party leadership in Croatia and discredit its activity. Monstrous stories are emerging about alleged Gestapo agents who were at the head of the CPC. In connection with Hebrang the following vital facts should be stressed. After leaving prison he became a member of the CPC Political Bureau on the strength of a decision taken by Tito and worked in it until his arrest by the Ustahsa in early 1942, in September 1942 he was exchanged with a group of Jasenovac concentration camp inmates. He then rejoined the party leadership and in 1942 assumed the office of Secretary of the CPC Central Committee. His replacement in October 1944 was caused by his wrong assessments and erroneous political attitudes on key questions concerning the end of the revolution and organization of the leading organs of government in Croatia.

Now, owing to doubts about his behavior in Ustasha prisons, Baltic said, attempts are being made to assert that he succeeded in imposing erroneous policies on the CPC and planting various people whose behavior was suspect but who were devoted to him. In this connection Baltic stressed that it should be publicly stated that up to his arrest Hebrang had behaved correctly and had a correct attitude to the Communist Party. By the time of his exchange the uprising had assumed such a scale that we were setting up not only brigades and divisions but also corps in croatia. Party organizations and party, area and district leadership had been built and the headquarters for conducting the liberation struggle, on whose formation and composition Hebrang had no influence, had been formed. The uprising gained such momentum that no individual, even one in the highest office, could change its course in a significant way. Any significant attempt would have met with resistance, as happened in 1944, when Hebrang was replaced. Let Hebrang's behavior in prison and the numerous suspicions felt in this connection be investigated and researched. This may throw more light on his character, but it may not change assessments of the Communist Party of Croatia and its Central Committee and their role in organizing the liberation war, Baltic said.

Dwelling on the current economic problems Baltic pointed out that our further development could tolerate no autarchy. This means that one must build an economy which will yield quality products, which is capable of overcoming problems of development, increase work productivity, reduce costs and ensure a more rational and effective inclusion in the world market and the world division of labor.

Stressing that the accumulated economic problems had given rise to widespread public criticism of various short-comings in our society, Milutin Baltic noted that expressions of criticism were not all based on the same ideological positions. There were forces which were increasingly directing their criticism against the foundations of the self-managing system and the constitutional solutions on the development and building of our intranational relations. These were nationalists of various kinds who had for a long time been dreaming about dismembering Yugoslavia and there were also those who would like to transform present-day Yugoslavia into a centralist state and negate the self-managing and equal intranational relations so far developed.

"By exploiting our economic difficulties and the mistakes made in Kosovo, a widely-planned irredentist action was launched in Kosovo after Tito's death. However," Baltic stressed, "the purpose and aim of this action were not just to cause strife in Kosovo but were much wider: the aim of the action was to break up the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At the same time the reactionary forces abroad are now giving support both to Kosovo irredentism and to the Servian, Croatian, Muslim, Slovene and other nationalisms. A joint platform is being sought to link these forces together, a platform with the aid of which they would try to impose themselves on Yugoslavia." It is no coincidence that the slogan calling for "national reconciliation" has again been launched, like the one in 1971, in Croatia. Behind it are concealed the legislation and introduction in our political system of the followers of the Ustasha, Chetnik, White Guard and other quisling forces from the country and abroad. In the course of this, Baltic went on, representatives of greater-Serbian nationalism and hegemonism demand the leading role for themselves in the building of such a nationalist counterrevolutionary front on the basis of the numerical strength of the Serbian nation.

Here in Croatia, Baltic went on, the counterrevolutionary and nationalist forces are imposing themselves on the Catholic church in order to turn it into their still stronger mainstay against socialism and our country's independence. As you have been able to see, at the same time they are sending us terrorists and subversion agents to use destruction as a means of intimidation and of causing confusion among our nations and nationalities. Certain greater-Serbian elements are striving not to lag behind and they would like to impose themselves on the Serbian masses in Croatia.

This time again, Baltic said, we must stress the well-known truth that the only effective struggle against nationalism is the struggle which consolidates the positions of the working class and in which the workers and our nations are drawn closer together in their common struggle to develop their own self-managing socialist life.

From this glorious spot where we started our epic struggle in 1941 we resolutely stress today, 40 years since its victorious outcome, that there is no retreating from our country's self-managing and socialist development, from the leading role of the working class in our society. There is no retreating from the building of our intranational relations and our federal community on the foundations of full equality and brotherhood and unity of our peoples. No one will divert us from this road, which we mapped with Comrade Tito and along which we shall continue, Milutin Baltic said at the end of his speech at the people's rally held in Abez forest near Vrginmost on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the decision to launch the people's uprising in that part of Croatia.

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YUGOSLAVIA

AWARD FOR WRITER EVOKE'S 'INDIGNATION'

LD170036 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 16 Jul 85

[Excerpts] Split 16 Jul (TANJUG) -- At the augmented session of the presidium of the federation of veterans' associations of Yugoslavia [SUBNOR], support was extended to the Zadar war veterans organization's letter of protest, in which indignation was expressed at the fact that the 1985 Goran literary prize was awarded to Ivan Aralica from Zadar. In supporting the letter the SUBNOR presidium calls for the commission which made the decision to be replaced and the political responsibility of its members established.

Without wanting to judge the artistic value of the winning literary work, the presidium of the Zadar war veterans' organization points out -- in a letter to the presidium of the Croat SUBNOR Presidium and the Zadar 1c municipal committee -- that the news about Ivan Aralica winning the prize was received with surprise and by some war veterans with indignation, since the Zadar public knows of Ivan Aralica as the ideological leader of the 1970-71 mass movement [alleged nationalist trend in the SR of Croatia at that time] on the territory of Zadar municipality. After listing all his activities at that time, which resulted in his expulsion from the League of communists, the letter stresses that the decision to award Ivan Aralica the 1985 Goran literary prize was at variance with the conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee which denounced enemy activity from the positions of nationalism and chauvinism. The letter goes on to state that "the forces defeated in 1970, 1971 and even before that are raising their heads" and that similar awards encourage all those who acted along the same line.

At the end of the letter the Zadar war veterans ask, who and on behalf of whom is publicly rehabilitating Ivan Aralica, the ideologue and central figure of the mass movement in Zadar; which "forces" are trying to put him on a pedestal, adorn him with epithets and glorify him while at the same time forgetting his role in the seventies. The war veterans propose that the criteria for the Goran and similar prizes be revised so that in the future in addition to a work's professional-artistic aspect its moral-political aspect is also taken into account.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

KOSOVO DEFENSE SECRETARY--Pristina, 23 Jun--At its session today the Kosovo Provincial Assembly adopted the decision on relieving Remzi Koljgeci of his duties as member of the Kosovo Executive Council and secretary for national defense, to enable him to assume his new duties as president of the management committee of the Balkan enterprise in Suva Reka. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 85 p 3]

USSR MINISTER RECEIVED--(TANJUG) Yesterday Dr Milenko Bojanic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for Foreign Trade, received Gennadiy Zhuralev, USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, who is attending the session of the Yugoslav-Soviet joint committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation in our country. In their talks Bojanic and Zhuralev discussed and positively appraised the results of commodity trade between the two countries in the past period of this year and concluded that all conditions exist for commodity trade this year to considerably exceed the level of last year. An agreement on certain future tasks was reached in this respect. [Text] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 85 p 4]

TALK WITH DPRK DELEGATION--"According to the announcement issued by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs yesterday, Budimir Loncar, Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has received a DPRK delegation headed by Kim Chung-il, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs. During a cordial talk held in the spirit of understanding and openness views were exchanged on topical questions of international relations and the bilateral relations between the two countries which are characterized by traditional friendship. Special attention was devoted to the forthcoming activities of the Nonaligned Movement." The DPRK delegation has held consultations with Zivojin Jazic, Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs on preparations for the forthcoming Luanda conference of foreign ministers of nonaligned countries. [Summary] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 85 p 4]

POLITIKA DIRECTOR, EDITOR APPOINTED--On 12 July the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium elected Aleksandar Bakocevic director of the POLITIKA Newspaper Organization, and Zika Minovic acting chief and responsible editor of the daily POLITIKA. [Summary] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 85 p 1 AU]

DJURANOVIC AWARDED--Titograd, 22 Jul (TANJUG)--The SFRY Presidency has conferred the Order of the Hero of Socialist Labor on Veselin Djuranovic for his revolutionary work over a period of many years and for his exceptional merit in the construction of socialist self-management society, and also for his significant contribution to the general development of the SFRY. These distinguished social tributes were presented to Veselin Djuranovic and to scientist Dr Dragisa Ivanovic in Titograd today by Dr Branislav Soskic, president of the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro. The most senior Montenegrin officials and this republic's representatives in the organs of the federation were present at the function. [Excerpts] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 22 Jul 85 LD]

CHIEF OF STAFF LEAVES FOR YEMEN--Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG) Colonel General Peter Gracanin, Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] chief of the general staff, is leading a delegation of the JNA that left this morning to pay a return visit to the Armed Forces of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR]. During his stay in the friendly and nonaligned Yemen the JNA chief of the general staff will visit some units and institutions of the Armed Forces of the YAR and have talks with his hosts. At Batajnica Airport General Gracanin was seen off by Lieutenant Colonel General Slavko Djurdjevic and a group of senior officers of the JNA. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0706 GMT 23 Jul 85 LD]

OSIJEK RENT INCREASES--Osijek 16 Jul (TANJUG)--Beginning 1 July rents in the Osijek municipality are going up by as much as 302 percent, which means that citizens of Osijek will be paying the highest rents in the SR of Croatia. A decision to this effect was adopted at today's session of the Osijek Municipal Assembly's Executive Council and is based on the previously held discussions and an agreement on the need to increase rents reached in principle by the bodies of the municipal sociopolitical organizations and the assembly of the municipal self-managing interest community for housing. It was decided in the course of these discussions and of today's discussion at the executive council session that the rent payments had been very low thus threatening the most basic upkeep of apartment buildings and buildings which, according to regulations, are within the purview of the municipal self-managing interest community for housing. The most adversely affected categories of citizens are expected to be those partially subsidized. [EXCERPT] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 16 Jul 85 LD]

NEW ENVOY TO IRAN--Belgrade 16 Jul (TANJUG)--By a decree of the SFRY Presidency Mirko Zaric, until now the SFRY Ambassador to the Somali Democratic Republic, has been appointed SFRY Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Islamic Republic of Iran. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 16 Jul 85 LD]

STOJANOVIC RECEIVES PRC ENVOY--Belgrade, 15 Jul (TANJUG)--Dr Stanislav Stojanovic, an executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received Xie Li, Chinese Ambassador to SFRY, at the ambassador's request. They discussed work and cooperation between the LCY and the Chinese Communist Party and also some international questions. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0921 GMT 15 Jul 85 LD]

SPILJAK RECEIVES MILITARY COMMANDERS--Zagreb, 15 Jul (TANJUG)--Mika Spiljak, president of the LC of Croatia Central Committee presidium, today received Colonel General Zorko Canadi, commander of the Zagreb Army Area, and Lieutenant Colonel General Martin Spegelj, commander of territorial defense of the SR of Croatia, in connection with their departure to take up new military duties. During their meeting Mika Spiljak expressed satisfaction and gratitude for their present cooperation and wished Comrades Canadi and Spegelj successful work on their new responsible tasks and business. The meeting was attended by Ratko Majstorovic, and executive secretary of the Croatian LC Central Committee. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 15 Jul 85 LD]

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